

THE INTRODUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT
OF WESLEYANISM IN SCOTLAND

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in partial fulfillment of the
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Doctor of Philosophy

by

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PREFACE

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David L. MacFarlane.

Winfield, Kansas.

April 20, 1931.

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INTRODUCTION

The Wesleyan Church in Scotland has never been as vigorous and sturdy as one might have expected so militant a church to be. That its feebleness has not been due to lack of effort, even a cursory study makes plain. Wesley made no less than twenty-two¹ journeys to Scotland, and his itinerants were indefatigable in their labours. Whatever else may be said relative to the Wesleyan position in Scotland, certainly no blame can attach itself to the loyal body of splendid men who have ministered, and who now minister, in the Scottish Wesleyan Churches. The reasons for its retardation are to be sought elsewhere. This problem has been a matter of concern from the earliest day, when Wesley himself pondered² his ineffectiveness in Scotland, to the present day, when a commission of the British Wesleyan Conference is engaged in the study of the whole relation of³ Wesleyanism to Scotland.

There has been, so far as can be ascertained, no previous attempt made to present a thorough study

1. See Appendix A.

2. Eayres, George, Letters of John Wesley, p. 411.

3. Conference Minutes 1929, pp. 83, 416, 423.

of the introduction and development of Wesleyanism in Scotland. The tendency is to dismiss the matter of Scottish Methodism as a subject scarce worthy of study. It is assumed that Wesleyanism is exotic in Scotland and that it could not be expected to thrive in so cool a theological climate. The most thorough study made, so far, is that of Rev. D. Butler in his Wesley and Whitefield in Scotland. There are also a number of pamphlets, bearing on the subject, written by Wesleyan ministers who have served in the Scottish field. Further reference to these studies will be made later in the chapter. The present study presents the results of a more thorough investigation of the subject.

Modern trends in church development would seem to justify the present research. The Wesleyan and Presbyterian churches of today are infinitely nearer one another than they were one hundred years ago. Though church polity has changed little, in the main, the trends of thought and theological conception are almost identical. The question arises quite naturally, then, does Wesleyanism have a peculiar message for Scotland? It is unquestioned that in 1751, when Wesley crossed the Border, he brought a message which made his preaching unique. Moreover, he was in the home of strong Calvinism, and his Arminianism was regarded as something alien. The Scottish people

of today do not need to enter a Wesleyan Chapel for Arminian warmth; it is in the Kirk. A fine evangelical fervor is there, too, tempered, as it must always be, by Scottish reserve, but none the less potent for that. It seems fitting to present a study, then, of a Church which, however small numerically, has helped to develop greater warmth in ecclesiastical Scotland. It may be, as some allege, that the work of Wesleyanism is completed in that kingdom, but time must answer that question.

The purpose, then, of this study is to present an adequate account of the introduction of Wesleyanism into Scotland; to note the difficulties which confronted this vigorous, evangelical movement in the stronghold of Calvinism; and, further, to trace the development of the movement. This last phase involves a study of the factors which militated against the growth of Wesleyanism.

It has been deemed wise to use the term Wesleyan, in general, rather than Methodist. There are other followers of Wesley in Scotland, as the Primitive Methodists, but their development was comparatively late and has not been treated here. The separations from the parent church affected Scottish Wesleyanism to some extent but not so much proportionately, as it affected the church south of the Tweed. Wherever such division is significant for this study,

1

it is given consideration. The term Wesleyan signifies that movement which was inaugurated by Wesley and which continues, in historic succession, his labours and the labours of his fellow-itinerants.

The study properly begins with a consideration of the great work which was done in the eighteenth century in the religious awakening of the neighboring kingdom to the south. The Wesleyan movement in England was the most significant development of that sordid age.² The writers, both secular and ecclesiastical, have given a vivid picture of the woeful state into which England had fallen. Vital religion was at its lowest, when the 'day-star' of the century appeared in the person of John Wesley. His years at Oxford, his relations to the Moravians and to the Religious Societies, and the years of toilsome labour as the evangel of a heart religion, are subjects which have engaged the attention of scholars,

1. A resident of Motherwell informed the writer that the Primitive Methodist Church in that city was largely built up as the result of an influx of Englishmen attracted to the industrial development of the Clyde valley. The informant was a son of one of these Englishmen.

2. Lecky, W. E. H., A History of England in the Eighteenth Century, vol. III, p. 1.

and which have added many volumes to the library of religious history. The development of his own religious experience and the gradual evolving of his Methodist organization fascinates all students of church history. The man himself has a great appeal. What a giant he was. John Wesley the evangelist was also a statesman of no mean ability. Macaulay says of him that "he had a genius for ecclesiastical govern-¹ment not inferior to Richelieu". Wesley did not view with satisfaction the growth of his Societies into a great Church. He was a churchman to the last and moved away from his Church reluctantly and under pressure. Yet, his purpose, the winning of souls, was not to be hindered through any retention of his own ecclesiastical preferences. That his ideas changed as regarded the relation of his Societies to the Church of England is clearly manifest. The Church itself was largely responsible for this change because of its unbending attitude. Had its bishops been broader in spirit, the Methodist Church might never have been born. The contribution of the Wesleys and their fellow-labourers is too well known to need emphasis in this thesis. A sketch of their work and the growth of the movement is necessary; nevertheless, for the proper understanding of its advent into the northern kingdom.

1. Macaulay, Thomas B., Critical, Historical, and Miscellaneous Essays, vol. 11, p. 137.

One must ask what the conditions were in Scotland in this same century, so as to understand what the Wesleyan evangelists found when they crossed the Tweed with their message. Scotland was not as England, let it be said in all candour. Less advanced in the social arts and refinements, poor in economic resources, the northern kingdom had greater mental alertness, and a more vital religious life. It has been said that politically and religiously the history of Scotland in the eighteenth century was, for the most part, uninteresting.¹ This view seems to have little authority, either as to the political or to the religious development. Politically there was much to awaken the interest of the Scot. The century opens with the great controversy over the Union. In that struggle was colour and life. Scotsmen found themselves roused to a fever heat of partisanship and national feeling. Patriotism grew as the struggle intensified. The Union, consummated in 1707, carried with it no real union of the two peoples. Indeed, it seemed that for a time it injected a more divisive spirit than had previously existed. Partisanship and national feeling intensified then have not wholly died out in our own day. That Scotland was sold for English gold by cold-blooded nobles, was the common

1. Watson, John, The Scot of the Eighteenth Century, pp. 5-6.

belief then, and it is still the accepted belief among the multitudes, although scholarship has shown¹ that this view is no longer tenable. Rancour against the 'auld enemy' was deepened and the Union became in a sense another Flodden, or, at least, it nullified the glorious day at Bannockburn. Whether this was a narrow patriotism or not, the fact remains that it was to be for many years the marrow of Scottish patriotism, and encroachments upon national rights and prerogatives were fiercely resented.

Political history is enlivened by the plots of Jacobites, and two risings of sufficient magnitude to threaten seriously the United Kingdom mark this phase, namely the '15 and the '45. There was constant plots and counterplots, and one lesser rising the '19, all finding inflammable material in Scotland. This was largely due to the unpopularity of the Union and the disappointments which followed its consummation. Many of the Scots were Jacobites at heart, thanks to the Union, but this Jacobitism was rendered innocuous due to the staunch Protestantism which could not thole a King from Rome, and the steadfast adherence to Presbyterian polity which had suffered in former years from Stuart kings. One feels the quickening of the Scottish pulse, nevertheless, and the wrath of Scotland rising at the measures taken to prevent a second '45. These movements did not make

1. See The Union by Dr. James Mackinnon.

for a more cordial feeling toward the southerner. The rebellions made clear, however, the necessity for real co-operation, and, thus, they strengthened the Union.

The latter half of the century sees a gradual drawing together of the two kingdoms; Scottish trade and commerce begin to profit by the Union and the Scottish invasion of England does much to reconcile the Scot to his southern partner. Yet, Scottish suspicion has never been entirely lulled to sleep, and the Scot has been insistent on the full recognition of his country's position.

Religious history is marked by the struggle between the Evangelicals and the Moderates. The vigour of the evangelical movement, even in the hey-day of moderateism, was no small factor in the religious life of Scotland. The revival at Cambusland and Kilsyth came under the leadership of the men of this party in the church, though, no doubt, the English evangelical movement had some influence. It is certain that the eloquence of Whitefield added flame to enthusiasm. The Seceder movement, under the leadership of the Erskines, was another vitalizing factor in the religious history of the century. The struggle in the Church kept the Scot alive to spiritual values, and, though his theology must seem grim to the present day, there was with it a vital religion. It was not all

'dry bones'. The religious views of the day were presented in a vigorous pamphleteering war in the style which characterized that age both in religious and in political writing. That which is significant for this study, especially, is the tenacity with which the Scottish people clung to the Presbyterian form of ecclesiastical government. Secession groups were as loyal as Churchmen. The long struggle for ecclesiastical liberty, which extended back to the early Reformation days, had given to the Scots unanimity in one thing ecclesiastical, namely, church polity. Presbyterianism became identified with deepest patriotism, and anything subversive of it was viewed as an enemy to the national life. This was particularly true of anything which savoured of prelacy. The taint of prelacy was perilously strong upon the garments of Whitefield and Wesley. They ventured, none-the-less, into Presbyterian stronghold, so that, perchance, they might 'fire the heather' with their Methodist brand.

Whitefield was the first to preach in Scotland, and he was undoubtedly more popular than Wesley. His reception was all that one could ask for. Large audiences heard him gladly. Established Churchmen fellowshiped with him, though Seceders who had invited him to come, anathematized him in no uncertain terms because he refused them his exclusive

services. His Calvinism gave him an approach to the Scotsman which was denied the Arminian Wesley. Whitefield was primarily a preacher and he made no attempt to organize his work. Thus, in Scotland, his preaching went largely to enrich the national church. Wesley was not only a great preacher, but also an organizing genius. He was as indefatigable in this work as Whitefield was in evangelizing, and, for that reason, of greater significance. Whitefield's importance to Scottish Methodism was largely in preparing the way for Wesley. He did this through establishing contacts which were invaluable to Wesley. Whatever differences there were between these two great men, their mutual love and respect was able to overcome it. Whitefield might feel that Wesley's coming to Scotland was unwise, but he put no obstacles in the way. He advised Wesley to stay away because of his known doctrinal¹ beliefs. Since Whitefield's labours did little in the way of establishing Wesleyanism in Scotland, less attention is paid to his Scottish journeys than otherwise would be the case. It is only as he is considered a factor in the introduction of the movement that his work is included.

Wesley was not only a factor in introducing the movement, but he was also the organizer and itinerating superintendent who through long weary

1. Wesley's Works, vol. vi, p. 131.

years gave himself to the arduous labor of overseeing the struggling Societies. It has to be remembered that Wesley did not come to proselytize. He was not attempting to found a Church in Scotland. That was a later development. A question arises, in connection with his Scottish ordinations, as to whether they were a step in that direction. It is argued that by these ordinations Wesley definitely established a Church. The weight of the evidence seems to be against this assumption. At the most, it was an expedient measure to relieve a trying situation. His real interest was the deepening of the spiritual life, the winning of souls, and his method was through the establishing of his Societies. In the early days, the Scottish Wesleyans did not break their connection with the National Church.¹ That came later, as it did in England.

Wesley's Journal records his many visits to Scotland, where he always found welcome and attentive audiences. On only one occasion was violence offered him. That was at Aberdeen where a loafer hurled a potato at him.² If other violence was offered he does not record it. He made many friends among all classes, and some notable ones among the gentry. Lady Maxwell of Pollock, Lady Glenorchy, the Earl of Buchan,

1. Eayres, Letters of John Wesley, pp. 383 ff.

2. Journal Appendix A, p. 24.

Sir Patrick Grant of Monymusk, and others, were in this latter group. Yet he did not find such a ready response to his message as he did in England or in Ireland. He established Societies in the important centers and of these a number have had a continuous history of useful service.

He was in his eighty-seventh year when he made his last journey to Scotland.¹ He died the following year, 1791. On this final tour he was received with all the reverence due an aged and well-tried Apostle. Yet, for all his labours, the Societies were few and almost negligible. The growth of them since his death has not been commensurate with the labours involved. The most striking change has been the abandonment of many rural circuits and the concentration in the urban centers. At the present writing, including the Shetland Isles District, there is a membership slightly in excess of eleven thousand,² and this after nearly two centuries of labour. It is scarcely to be wondered at that the question of the place of Wesleyanism in Scotland has been seriously questioned by the leaders in the British Conference. It is recognized that Wesleyanism is a force stronger than its numerical strength would indicate, and, in the urban centers, continues to do notable work. The ministry of the Rev. George Jackson in Edinburgh is not forgotten in that city, and

1. Journal Appendix A, p. 56.

2. See Appendix C.

its influence will go on for years to come. The development of the movement has been traced largely through a study of the leading Circuits.

What retarded or impeded Wesleyanism in Scotland? Many have asked the question and many answers have been submitted. All have a modicum of truth. It has been said that the reason may be found in Wesley's statement, that "I have weighed the matter, and will serve the Scots as we do the English, or leave them".¹ There can be no doubt that Wesley's plan of government was the antithesis of the Scottish ideal of ecclesiastical polity. To treat the Scots exactly as the English was neither politic nor discerning. One must go farther than this statement however to find an answer. Wesley's Arminianism is the most commonly accepted reason for the failure of his system to extend itself. This was Whitefield's opinion, as it has been previously shown. He maintained that the Scottish people would come to hear Wesley only that they might dispute with him. Again, there can be no doubt that the strong Calvinism of eighteenth century Scotland was a barrier to the ready reception of Wesley's message. The controversy which developed over the Hervey Letters, and Dr. John Erskine's attack on Wesley, roused the Calvinistic hosts to

1. Wesley's Works, vol. vii, p. 76.

resist the Arminian leader, and this was the first decided check the Wesleyans received in Scotland. Nevertheless, the Morisonians, Congregationalists, and others, emphasizing Arminian doctrines more vigorously than the Wesleyans, prospered.

The Scottish temperament is opposed to the warm emotionalism and the exaggerations which attend the Methodist revivals, we are told. It is doubtless true that the Scottish mind is more logical and less easily swayed by emotion than some other types, yet it must be remembered that Scotland was the scene of remarkable religious outbreaks, such as at Irvine, Stewarton, Shotts, Cambuslang, Kilsyth, and other¹ places, both before and since the days of Wesley. The Scot has never been a stranger to heart religion, although he is usually averse to making such display of it. The answer, then, is not to be found here alone.

The itinerant plan has been a real handicap to the Wesleyan advance. The Scot likes a settled ministry. The Conference has recognized this and has relaxed, in a measure, the severity of the rules for the Circuits north of the border. Wesley himself was insistent upon the itinerant plan. It was a vital part of his system, and he would not relax

1. See Duncan's Scottish Revivals.

even to win Scotland.

The Loyalty of the Scot to the Presbyterian form of Church government is no doubt one of the primary causes. Wesley's appointment of ministers and the appointment of office-bearers in the Church are contrary to the whole life and spirit of the Scottish Church. The struggle over patronage intensified this feeling, and the Scot was little likely to leave a Church, which was then fighting to have its prerogatives in this respect confirmed, to enter an organization where the right was not even considered.

A fundamental cause, which is seldom even hinted at, underlies the whole problem. This is the conscious or unconscious antagonism of the Scot to the English. It is something not readily admitted, but easy to understand. The whole of Scottish history reveals a little nation struggling fiercely to maintain itself against a rich and powerful neighbour. The struggle was successful, but its very ferocity engendered a suspicion and watchfulness of anything which came from south of the Tweed. Political and religious history in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries served to deepen this feeling. Wesleyanism was English, alien, prelatic. The Scot might give it a courteous hearing, but it was received with no enthusiasm, and was not granted the serious consider-

ation of mob violence as in England. Wesleyan ministers of English birth today must be extremely careful in phraseology that they be void of offence¹ in the eyes of their Scottish Wesleyan congregations.

The matter of Scottish indifference undoubtedly has a bearing on the question. In the main, the Wesleyans suffered no persecutions in Scotland. Wesley speaks again and again of the splendid congregations who heard him but who were as unmoved as the seats² they sat upon. A movement may thrive on persecution but it is rare, indeed, for it to withstand indifference. Scotland was well satisfied with its own brand of religion. The fact, moreover, that the religious impetus given the country by the Seceder movement was taking effect at the time of the entrance of Wesleyanism, would lessen the group to which it might, otherwise, have appealed with some measure of success.

A number of contributory causes have been suggested, which, in some measure, acted as a check

1. The writer was informed by a leading Wesleyan minister in Scotland that he had to be extremely careful never to use the term England, when he should use Great Britain. Failure to exercise this care invariably brought rebuke.

2. Journal, Appendix A, p. 48.

at specific times. Such were the unwise chapel-building schemes, the order forbidding ministers to wear gown and bands, and the failure to establish a separate Scottish Conference, as was done in Ireland. Criticism has been made that the Wesleyan Church in Scotland has suffered through permitting Presbyterian form and usage to rob it of its distinctive characteristics; that it has suffered through failure to adapt itself to Scottish prejudice by the adopting of Presbyterian usages. The Wesleyans in Scotland today have taken over something of the Presbyterian form in their worship. It has helped them but little for they still remain as aliens in a strange land.

Perhaps it was no one particular factor that was responsible for the retardation of the Wesleyan movement, but rather the sum of many factors which made the task too difficult even for valiant evangelists like the itinerants of Wesley. Certainly, no group worked more heroically than these men, and, if today there is discouragement, it should be lightened by a contemplation of what has been accomplished in the face of almost insuperable obstacles.

When it comes to the matter of Wesleyan influence in Scotland, there seems to be a fairly unanimous opinion. There would be few to deny its profound effect in the quickening and deepening of

Scottish religious life. Yet it is not easy to show by concrete illustration the precise part played by Wesleyanism. There are other factors which deeply affected the Scottish people. In fact, there has never been an extended period in the religious history of Scotland when there were not deep currents moving within the nation which helped to keep the spiritual condition vivified. The Secessions, the Haldanes, the Independents, the mighty impetus of the Free Church movement, have all been of utmost importance. But, without a doubt, the Wesleyans will be accorded an honoured place by members of other groups. Mr. Butler has given some considerable attention to this aspect of Scottish Wesleyan history, but there is a lack of definiteness and vagueness in his statement. At one point we have a very specific evidence of the Wesleyan influence, and that is in the hymnal of the Scottish Church. Here the finest of the sacred songs which came from the 'nest of singing birds', is to be found. The Scottish Presbyterian congregations of today sing the hymns of the Wesleys, Watts, Doddridge, Olivers, and others of the Methodist group, and find in them the quickening of the spiritual life. The spread of Arminianism is due, in no small measure, to the Wesleyans. The metal-like

Calvinism has been softened by Arminian warmth.¹
 The development of Sunday Schools is another phase of Wesleyan influence, for this movement owes much to the emphasis put upon it by the Methodists. The Scottish people have not been slow to acknowledge their debt to the Wesleyan movement, and they would be the last to deny the validity of the claim of this movement to a large part in the influencing² of Scottish ecclesiastical life.

In such a study, the scarcity of material presents a difficulty at the outset. Mr. Butler's volume, previously referred to, is the only work of any pretension dealing with the subject. His book is well written and suggestive, though his premises are not adequately supported. Moreover, he deals almost entirely with the earliest phase of the movement, namely the work and significance of Whitefield and Wesley. No attempt is made to trace development, or to present an adequate study³ of the factors militating against the movement.

1. Brash, W. B., Methodism, p. 60.
2. Edinburgh Scotsman, March 2nd, 3rd, 1891.
3. Mr. Butler has another volume, Henry Scougal and the Oxford Methodists, in which his thesis is that the Oxford Methodists found in Scougal's societies at Aberdeen the example for their organization. This is a somewhat strained conclusion though Scougal's influence on Whitefield is undoubted.

The Journal of Wesley is the most valuable source of material. Whitefield's Journal is disappointing. It lacks the coherence and order of the Wesley Journal, recording less of the sequence of events and more of the emotional conflict. The Conference Minutes have been valuable in supplying statistical data. Jackson's Early Methodist Preachers supplies information relative to the labours of the early itinerants, and the files of the Arminian Magazine and its successors also give much material of this nature. The Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society, newspaper and magazine articles, and pamphlets have also been helpful. Many of the pamphlets have dealt with the position of the Wesleyan Church in Scotland and the reasons for its slow progress. Their common fault is that they have looked at superficial rather than fundamental causes. Valuable material has been found, nevertheless, in pamphlets, though such material, especially the polemical writings, must of necessity be carefully appraised. Local Church histories are rare. The best located was a pamphlet on Banffshire Methodism by the Rev. Wesley F. Swift. Mr. Swift has the scholar's interest in Scottish Wesleyanism and has gathered good material.

It is unfortunate that a similar work has not been done for other sections of Scotland.

The standard works relating to Methodist history have been consulted. Especially valuable were the studies by Dr. J. S. Simon. The last volume in this series has not appeared from the press at this writing. General histories make some reference to Wesleyanism in Scotland, and ecclesiastical histories make fuller reference, but, at the best, it is a few bare paragraphs. For the background the standard political, social, and religious histories have been used.

The paucity of material is not to be wondered at as the general impression prevails, even among Methodists, that Wesleyanism is exotic in Scotland, and that it neither has had a great place, nor is likely to have. The subject scarcely warrants investigation under such reasoning. The attitude of many Wesleyan ministers may be gathered from the cynical remark overheard at an Annual Conference where the subject of Scottish appointments was being considered, "God never called a Methodist minister¹ to go north of the Tweed." With such an attitude prevailing it is not strange to find an apathy as

1. An Address to the Methodist in Scotland, p. 22.

regards the future of Scottish Wesleyanism and a consequent lack of interest in the historical development. Under such circumstances there is usually a dearth of recorded material and this is the condition which the student of Scottish Methodism finds. The bibliography lists all the works consulted which were found to be of value.

Supplementary material has been arranged as appendices and they contain data referred to in the thesis and material which should be helpful for further study. The material contained in the Appendices, with the exception of Appendix A, is presented in this form for the first time, so far as could be ascertained.

Throughout the study, the scientific historical attitude has been the aim, and the sources have been scrutinized and appraised in the spirit of unbiased research. The closing chapter summarizes the results and conclusions.

PART I

THE WESLEYAN REVIVAL IN ENGLAND

CHAPTER I

RISE AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE METHODIST MOVEMENT

The Evangelical Revival in eighteenth century England is, without doubt, the most significant movement of the century. Lecky, whose valuable studies have thrown much light upon developments in the eighteenth century says:

"Although the career of the elder Pitt, and the splendid victories by land and sea that were won during his ministry, form unquestionably the most dazzling episodes in the reign of George II, they must yield, I think, in real importance to that religious revolution which shortly before had been begun in England by the preaching of the Wesleys and Whitefield. The creation of a large, powerful, and native sect, extending over both hemispheres, and numbering many millions of souls, was but one of its consequences. It also exercised a profound and lasting

influence upon the spirit of the Established Church, upon the amount and distribution of the moral forces of the nation, and even upon the course of political history."¹

Historians have come to a practical unanimity as to the significance of the movement in its relation to the social and political development of the eighteenth century. Trevelyan points out that this movement fathered by a Tory, and serving as a check upon the radical influences coming from France in the latter part of the eighteenth century, was to be a source of great strength to the Liberal Party in the nineteenth century. This was inevitable since Methodism swelled the ranks of the Dissenters who were to furnish the bulk of the Liberal constituency.² Its importance as a formative influence in eighteenth and nineteenth century Britain, is beyond question.

The main current of the movement was so powerful that it impinged upon many angles of life and so took on a many-sided aspect. Thus its effect was felt in the development of literature. It has been called the forerunner of the Romantic Revival and served, no doubt, as a medium of transition from the

1. Lecky, England in the Eighteenth Century, vol. III, p. 1.

2. Trevelyan, G. M., History of England, p. 526.

more formal age in letters to the freedom of Romanticism.¹ It was, however, upon the moral and spiritual tone that it had its most striking effect.

The Restoration encouraged a laxity which came as a reaction to the overly rigid Puritanism of the Cromwellian period. This was manifest in the corruption in manners and living which aped the dissolute court of Charles II. There had been little to counteract the effect of the Carolingian debauchery in the succeeding reigns. The accession of the Hanoverians brought no improvement. If the court was less blatantly dissolute, it was none the less immoral, and far from a model for the rest of the country. At the beginning of the Wesleyan revival in the reign of George II, this was particularly true. It was the age of Robert Walpole, who was avowedly a slave to the flesh, and whose life was a scandal in a scandalous era. Vice was the fashion in high society; gambling a mania; coarseness and vulgarity the rule.²

Among the masses, moral conditions were appalling. Ignorance abounded, and drunkenness,

1. Lunn, Arnold, John Wesley, p. 12.

2. See Lecky, History of England, vol. III, Winchester, John Wesley. Green, History of England, pp. 735-740.

depravity, and crime were rampant. "The moral and intellectual conditions of the inhabitants of Bristol in 1700 more closely resembled that of the middle ages than that of our own time."¹ In sections of the country, especially the mining districts, the inhabitants were little better than savages. Since reputable scholars are in practical agreement as to conditions, one must be convinced that this dark picture of eighteenth century England is not overdrawn.

When such conditions existed, one may well ask where the Church was, and what it was doing. The state of religion was one to daunt the heart of an evangelical. The Latitudinarian party controlled the Established Church and classical learning and cold morality were all one could expect from its leaders. Zeal was discouraged and enthusiasm discounted. The clergy, for the most part, were concerned with emphasizing the reasonable character of Christianity and had no message for the ignorant,² impoverished masses.

The Dissenters were little better. Once they had been zealous and enthusiastic, but they had

1. Simon, J. S., John Wesley and the Religious Societies, p. 275.

2. Trövelyan, G. M., History of England, pp. 518, 519. Lecky, History of England, vol. III, p. 13.

grown smug and complacent since persecution had ceased. There were few voices raised in behalf of a vital religion and so great was the din that they were practically unheard. The Quakers had spoken fearlessly in the reigns of the later Stuarts, but their evangelists were apparently silenced, and the Oxford Methodists were to come like a trumpet-blast in this era of religious apathy and indifference.

One agency which attempted to combat the evils of the age was the Societies for the Reformation of Manners, which had been organized in the seventeenth century. These societies were organized within the Established Church by devout members who saw the "evil day" and used an old and well-tried organization for the development of a spiritual force within the Church. That these societies were a vital influence in conserving the spiritual forces of the Church cannot be doubted. Just how far Wesley used these societies as models for his own is a matter of varied opinion.¹ That they prepared the way for his work seems clear; yet such societies were common in the history of the Church from early days, and

1. J. Stoughton, History of Religion in England,
p. 134.

if he desired a model he had those of the Apostolic¹ age.

It was in the England of this age that the Oxford Methodists began that great evangelical movement with which we associate the name of John Wesley. There are those outside the Wesleyan group who had a distinct place in the movement. Devout men like Bishops Heber and Wilson and other evangelicals within the Anglican Church made a noteworthy² contribution. Yet Wesley's was the genius, his the master workmanship, and his the leadership.

John Wesley came of an ecclesiastical line. His paternal ancestry had been closely linked with the Church, and, at the close of the Puritan regime, his grandfather and great-grandfather had suffered for their convictions. His father was a clergyman of ability who honoured the Church he served. His mother was the daughter of the famous non-conformist minister, Dr. Annesley, and was a devoted student in all that pertained to the Church. In many respects, Wesley was his mother's son, and between them there was a close bond. Susannah Wesley is one of the remarkable women of history. As the mother of the

1. In J. S. Simon's John Wesley and the Religious Societies we have a thorough and scholarly study of Wesley's relation to the Religious Societies.
2. Russell, George, The Evangelical Movement, p. 1.

Wesleys she would be entitled to a place in history, but she had qualities of mind and character which in another age would have given her a place in her own right.

John Wesley was born in the rectory at Epworth, Lincolnshire, June 17, 1703, the fifteenth in a family of nineteen. In his eleventh year he became a pupil of the Charterhouse School, London, and in his seventeenth year he was elected to Christ Church College, Oxford. In 1725 he was ordained deacon, and in 1726 he was elected a Fellow of Lincoln College. After his graduation as Master of Arts in 1727 he served as his father's curate at Epworth and Wroote. In 1728 he was ordained priest. The following year he returned to Oxford and until 1735 he spent his time in study and Christian philanthropies. In many respects these later years at Oxford were among his happiest. The cloistered quiet and calm had a strong appeal to this man who was to spend the years of a long life busily engaged in itinerating through the length and breadth of Britain.¹

The influence of devotional literature is marked in Wesley's life. As one follows him in his

1. See Journal, vol 1. Tyarman, vol 1. Lunn, John Wesley. Winchester, John Wesley.

search for a more vital religious experience the effect of these works is apparent. Kempis' Christian Pattern, Law's Serious Call, and Christian Perfection, Scougal's Life of God in the Soul of Man, and Taylor's Holy Living and Dying were some of the books which played an important part in his awakening.¹ Frequent references to these devotional works occur in his Journal. It is apparent that he did not agree with all the views put forth in these books, but he did absorb much that was valuable.

Upon his return to Oxford in 1729 Wesley came in contact with the Holy Club. This was a small group of young men earnestly seeking a deeper religious experience. In the group were his brother Charles, William Morgan,² and Robert Kirkham. Though he was not the founder of the Club, Wesley's dominant personality made him the leader. The group met regularly for devotional exercises and earned a number of nick-names from the derisive students. Bible Moths, Holy Club, and Methodists were some of the names applied in scorn. The latter name has remained to dignify the great church which Wesley unwittingly founded. In the Oxford Methodists John

1. Journal, vol. 1, pp. 15, 16, pp. 466, 467.

Butler's Henry Scougal, chapter Vlll.

2. Journal, vol. 1, p. 87 ff.

Wesley found the first real approach to the goal at which he aimed in his spiritual life. He lost the purely selfish viewpoint in religion; and in the emphasis upon the practical aspect of Christianity which came to him through his connexion with the Holy Club, we have adumbrated the rich message which¹ followed his Aldersgate experience.

The year 1735 was epochal. In that year he sailed for Georgia as a missionary to the Indians. He was also to serve as Chaplain to the English colonists at Savannah. Charles Wesley went as Secretary to General Oglethorpe. The missionary motive was undoubtedly strong in Wesley, but he gives as his chief motive for his journey, a desire² to save his own soul. He thought that in the primitive conditions existing in the new world he would have fewer temptations to contend with. Georgia was to mean much of heartache for Wesley and he shows to least advantage in this period of his life.

He did but little as a missionary to the Indians. His chief work was among the colonists. His extreme High Churchmanship did not commend itself to colonists on a frontier, and he evinced

1. Journal, vol 1, pp. 6, 7, 87-102.

2. Ibid, vol. 1, p. 109.

an unyielding quality of character which repelled rather than attracted. He was indefatigable in his labours, and austerity itself, yet he gained no hold upon the people. It is scarcely the truth, however, to say that his mission to Georgia was a complete failure. Without doubt he accomplished some good, yet he gave no promise of great power that was latent within.¹ Nevertheless, it was a period of deep significance. He came in contact with the Moravians who introduced him to a religious experience which was essentially new. Three months in travel across the Atlantic with these devout men, convinced him that they had the type of religious experience he was seeking.

He returned to England in February, 1738. There was much to discourage him. He had the sense of defeat weighing down his spirit, and a deeper discouragement arising from his dissatisfaction with his spiritual condition. He had gone out hoping to save his own soul, yet he returned in no better state save as he had seen in the Moravians the promise of what he might possess. "I went to America to convert the Indians; but O who shall convert me?"² is his despairing cry. He was overly sensitive at

1. Journal, vol. 1, pp. 28-35.

2. Ibid, vol. 1, pp. 418, 419.

this point. That he was a genuine Christian, none can doubt, even when he deplores his own condition in such reproachful measure. He would not be satisfied, however, until he had the fullest experience, and he sought until he found it.

Peter Bohler, a Moravian missionary, who visited in London during this period, became Wesley's spiritual mentor. The fundamental teaching of Bohler was Justification by Faith. He advised Wesley to preach faith until he had it. The weeks that followed found Wesley following this advice. The High Churchman begins to recede, and evidence of the great evangelist is foreshadowed as he preaches faith, and waits for assurance which is to come as the gift of God.

The Twenty-fourth of May, 1738, was a great day in his experience. The Journal gives his own story:

"In the evening I went very unwillingly to a society in Aldersgate where one was reading Luther's preface to the Epistle to the Romans. About a quarter before nine, while he was describing the change which God works in the heart through faith in Christ, I felt my heart strangely warmed. I felt I did trust in Christ, Christ alone for my

salvation; and an assurance was given me
that he had taken away my sins, even mine,
and saved me from the law of sin and death."¹

Aldersgate Street takes on an added significance in the light of Wesley's story. This strange warming of the heart was doubtless the evidence of the arrival at the long sought goal. Wesley now had the fullest assurance of faith, but that assurance came from the richness of his own spiritual life. It had a significance far beyond his own personal experience. Lecky says:

"It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that that scene forms an epoch in English history. The conviction which there flashed upon one of the most powerful and active intellects in England is the true source² of English Methodism."

Probably no man in the eighteenth century knew the physical appearance of Great Britain better than John Wesley. He was constantly journeying, and on his journeys preached three and four times a day. Yet he had time to perfect a great organization which conserved the results of his many journeys and his daily preaching. The center of his system was the

1. Journal, vol. 1, pp. 475 ff.

2. Lecky, History of England, vol. 111, p. 48.

"Society", and the Wesleyan Societies of the Anglican Church were to become a mighty church. This Wesley did not foresee in the early years of the movement.

The Religious Societies which grew up within the Anglican Church have been noted. It has been suggested that Wesley found in them the genesis of his own Societies. He was interested in these church societies and shared in their work, yet his Societies were independent of them and had marked differences. The Scottish mystic, Scougal, has been credited with furnishing Wesley with the inspiration and model for his Societies, in the society which Scougal organized among the students at Aberdeen.¹ This is based principally upon the fact that Scougal's book, The Life of God in the Soul of Man, was known and valued by the Oxford Methodists. There is insufficient evidence for such a claim. Speculation as to where Wesley found the idea for his Societies seems futile since there are so many models in the history of the Church to which he could look. He was acquainted with the value of the society as an aid to spiritual development. He had benefited from the work of the Holy Club, and the Fetter Lane Society was an influence in strengthening his spiritual life.²

1. Butler, D., Henry Scougal.

2. Simon, J. S., John Wesley and the Religious Societies. Brash, W. B., Methodism, p. 53.

While a member of the Fetter Lane Society Wesley had gathered together a band which met weekly at the Foundery for devotional exercise and study. In 1740, he, and a number of others who could not agree with the quietistic teachings of Molther, the Moravian, left the Fetter Lane Society and organized the Mother Society of Methodism, the Foundery¹ Society.

Wesley's work was confined largely to London and Bristol until the institution of lay-preachers made possible the rapid extension of the work. This was an innovation which Wesley fought. He was a High Churchman, and lay-preaching could be only repugnant to him. The refusal of the majority of the clergy to aid him in his work made imperative the substitution of lay leadership. Thomas Maxfield, a layman, had preached to the Foundery Society without authority, and Wesley, who was at Bristol when he heard of this, returned with the express intention of preventing Maxfield from continuing this irregular practise. He was advised by his mother to refrain from such action, and after listening to Maxfield preach decided that God had called him. This was early in 1740, and from that time on, lay-preachers

1. Journal, vol. 11, pp. 369-371. Whitehead, John, Life of John Wesley, pp. 341-358.

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were a part of Wesley's system.

The great work which bears Wesley's name owes much to a group of men, differing in talent, yet alike in zeal and purpose, who at various times were associated with him. George Whitefield is without doubt the most interesting one of the group. He was the peerless preacher whose eloquence aroused the multitudes. Where Wesley was cool and logical, Whitefield was impassioned and emotional. One, outwardly cool, burned with inward zeal; the other was consumed with his own fire. Wesley's preaching had power to arouse the people. He could sway an audience and melt the stony-hearted; yet, he never lost his poise in the flood-tide of his preaching. Whitefield lost himself in his eloquence; he moved the people as he preached and was as tremendously affected himself. Wesley moved away from the Established Church reluctantly and only after mature deliberation gave him warrant; Whitefield had no reluctance in breaking with tradition. He began field-preaching in a day when it was discountenanced. Wesley consented to such preaching, but only when he saw that through it he could reach the multitudes. In reason, logic, and organizing ability Wesley was the peer of Whitefield. In eloquence and the sense of

1. Winchester, John Wesley, p. 101. Whitehead, John, Life of John Wesley, p. 363.

humor Whitefield was easily foremost. If Wesley was the organizing genius of the evangelical movement, Whitefield was its eloquent tongue. These two men, unlike in so many ways, were united in the great work of evangelizing. In doctrinal matters they could not see eye to eye and walked apart; yet it can be said to the credit of both, their friendship stood the strain of doctrinal disagreement. Charles Wesley undoubtedly served as a strong tie between his brother and Whitefield. They both loved him and that love drew them closer to each other. In an age when doctrinal disagreement so frequently led to bitter and lasting estrangements, it is refreshing¹ to find Wesley and Whitefield rising above it.

The sweet singer of the movement was Charles Wesley. He lacked the strength and purposive assurance of his brother. He had no great eloquence as Whitefield whereby to draw the multitudes, but his hymns have been on the lips and in the hearts of thousands of the devout who have found in them solace and joy. Those who know the power of song may well recognize that Charles Wesley had no small share in the awakening of England. In his loyalty to the Church he was more tenacious than his brother. John

1. See Abbey & Overton, The English Church in the Eighteenth Century, p. 358. Stoughton, Religion in England, vol.VI, p. 132.

Wesley moved away from the Church reluctantly, but had he listened to the advice of Charles Wesley he would have moved not at all. Charles did not hesitate to rebuke his brother when he could not agree with the latter's program. He was none the less loyal to him. They loved each other even when they differed and were mutually helpful. Though a lesser light in the movement Charles Wesley will ever be associated with John Wesley and Whitefield as a member of an illustrious trio.¹

The names of the group who had a share in the development of the Wesleyan movement are many, yet none are more worthy of mention than John Fletcher, the Vicar of Madely. The universal testimony to his Christlike character puts beyond the shadow of doubt the propriety of naming him saint. The Vicar of Shoreham, Perronet, sometimes called the Archbishop of Methodism, William Grinshaw of Haworth and Howell Harris, the evangelist to Wales, are others who represent the clergy of the Church of England. It is a group of notable men, each one contributing much to the movement.²

1. See Gledstone, J. P., Life and Travels of George Whitefield. Abbey & Overton, The English Church in the Eighteenth Century.

2. See Simon, J. S., John Wesley and the Religious Societies. Abbey & Overton, The English Church in the Eighteenth Century.

Among the faithful labourers who were in the ranks of the early itinerants, lay preachers, who covered the length and breadth of Britain to preach the gospel, are names now enshrined in the annals of Methodism. John Nelson, John Pawson, John Haime, Thomas Olivers, Alexander Mather,¹ Duncan Wright,² Duncan M'Allum,³ and that queer yet effective preacher, William Darney,⁴ who was known in the Yorkshire villages as 'Scotch Will'. Others could be mentioned, equally worthy of honour, who endured the hardships and wore themselves out in the service of Christ.

Wesley's organization was designed to meet the needs of the people. There was no requirement necessary for membership in his Societies, except a "desire to be saved from the wrath to come". The Religious Societies were open only to members of the Anglican Church. Wesley hoped to make his Societies a power within the Church of England, but he denied admittance to none, whether churchmen or not. His Societies were private organizations for the deepening of the religious experience and were not the nucleus for a new sect. He urged the members to attend the regular services of the parish churches and so arranged

1. See Appendix B, p. 10.

2. Ibid, p. 13.

3. Ibid, pp. 7, 8.

4. Ibid, p. 4.

the hours of meeting for his Societies that there would be no conflict with the Church of England¹ services.

The Class-Meeting gave Wesley a means of supervision which tended to centralization and unity. The Society was divided into groups called "classes" which meet weekly under the direction of a leader appointed by Wesley and responsible to him. The leader kept a close supervision over the individuals in his group and made a weekly report to Wesley, who in turn made a quarterly visitation. The Class-Meeting was the backbone of the Methodist movement. It made possible an intimate contact with every member of the Society. The Circuit, and the Conference, are the other elements in the system. The Conference developed from a meeting of Itinerants called by Wesley in 1744 to consult and plan with him. This grew into a yearly meeting and since the death of Wesley has been the legislative and executive power in British Wesleyanism. The Circuit did not develop until 1746, and furnished the link which completed a compact organization. The Circuits were supplied by lay preachers, called Itinerants, who travelled from point to point in the Circuit. The Itinerants were

1. Abbey & Overton, The English Church in the Eighteenth Century, p. 325. Winchester, John Wesley, pp. 248, 249.

aided by Local Preachers who devoted what time they could spare from their secular work to the work of preaching. The system made possible the absolute control of the Societies by one man. Wesley has been called autocratic in his use of power, yet a study would indicate that probably few men could have been so temperate in the use of power when so much was at hand to use. He did insist that his plan and method should be carried out, and that men appointed by him for the work should live up to his rules; but after all it was his "organization", and he had a right to order its direction as he chose. He appointed Class Leaders, Superintendents of Circuits, and Itinerants. He supervised the financial affairs, bought property whenever necessary for the advancement of the work, and did it all on his own initiative. He regulated the daily life and habits of his preachers as far as it was possible for him to do so. Yet it is very evident that he required less of others than he did of himself. He was, moreover, open to reason and listened to advice from his friends and helpers. It is little to be wondered at that such an organization so filled with enthusiasm and zeal, and so ably directed, swept England.¹

1. Stoughton, J., History of Religion in England, vol. VI, pp. 134-139. Wesley's Works, vol VII, pp. 345-397.

There have been few great religious movements that have not been marred by controversies. This was true of the Reformation, and of the Wesleyan Revival as well. Wesley and Whitefield were one in their evangelizing zeal, but where it came to the matter of instructing their converts, differences as to doctrine developed. Whitefield could not agree with Wesley's doctrine of Perfection; Wesley rejected the Calvinistic position taken by Whitefield. The latter's Calvinism was strengthened through contact with Jonathan Edwards and other New England divines with whom he had become intimate during his visit to the Colonies in the years 1739 to 1741.

The break came when Wesley published his sermon on Free Grace in 1739. He did this against Whitefield's wishes and to that extent Wesley is responsible for opening the controversy. However, in fairness to him it must be said, that the controversy was inevitable when such strong opinions were held on both sides. Calvinism had great strength in England and Wesley chose the unpopular side; not because it was unpopular, but because he could not preach a gospel of limited salvation effectively to the multitudes. Arminianism gave him a message which¹ could reach all classes and conditions.

1. Winchester, John Wesley. Journal, vol. 111, pp. 84 ff..
 Stoughton, J., Religion in England, vol. VI, p. 132.
 Tyarman, L., Life of George Whitefield, vol. 1.

Selina, Countess of Huntingdon, was the leader of the Calvinistic Methodists in England. This remarkable woman gave up the world and its honours to devote her energies to the evangelical movement. Her time and wealth were given without stint in its furtherance. Howell Harris in Wales, Whitefield, Toplady, Venn, Romaine, Berridge, and Richard and Rowland Hill in England, were other leaders. The controversy waxed warm, and no political pamphleteering could produce greater scurrility than did the polemical writings of some of the controversialists. In the later phases of the controversy, the Hills, Toplady, and Berridge left Wesley scarce a rag of character, likening him to a fox, sly, deceitful, and filled with all cunning and artifice. This was not true of Whitefield. His reply to Wesley's sermon on Free Grace was ill-considered and personal in tone, but he acknowledged his error and after some months of estrangement the friendly intercourse was resumed. While their friendship was renewed they were never to work together as they had formerly¹ done.

The controversy early entered the Societies. It appeared at Bristol where John Cennick, who was in charge of the Society there, created a division which led to the secession of Cennick and a number of members

1. Abbey and Overton, The English Church in the Eighteenth Century, pp. 355-366. Winchester, John Wesley, pp. 196-212.

who held to the Calvinistic doctrines. Secessions occurred in other Societies, but what they lost in members they gained in greater unity. From this time on there are two groups of Methodists, the Calvinists who followed the leadership of Whitefield and the Countess of Huntingdon, and the Arminians who followed Wesley. The latter group may well be denominated Wesleyans. In the great evangelical current which swept through the country both groups had a place, but the Wesleyans easily rank first in importance. This may be attributed to Wesley's organizing genius; to the gospel which he offered the people; or, what is most likely, to both. The controversy was reopened in 1755 on the publication of Hervey's Theron and Aspasia, and more bitterly still in 1771 after Wesley's¹ publication of The Minutes of the Conference of 1770.

The record of the persecutions of the Wesleyans seems almost unbelievable, when one considers that they took place in a civilized land. Magistrates, rectors, and curates were not only indifferent for the most part, to the sufferings of the persecuted Wesleyans, but they were often openly hostile. Insult, bodily injury, and death itself, were the portion of the brave Itinerants who bravely and steadfastly

1. Abbey and Overton, The English Church in the Eighteenth Century, pp. 355-365. Journal, vol V, p. 425.

preached again and again in towns where infuriated mobs had assaulted them. At Boston, Alexander Mather was beaten and left for dead, and at York a mob assaulted John Nelson and beat him into insensibility. Wesley felt the violence of the mob on more than one occasion when his own life was in danger. Mob scenes such as are recorded in the Journal as occurring at Wednesbury and Walsall, were repeated at many other places. The Foundery was not exempt, and it was invaded by mobs, though in the larger centers the law was enforced better than in the rural sections. The communities where parson and squire dominated accorded¹ the worst treatment to the Wesleyans.

Wesley was fearless in the face of the most turbulent mobs and his courage had its effect. They could not daunt him. He never lost his serenity of temper and this was a saving virtue in the mastering of mobs. Many of the communities which gave him the roughest receptions later became the center of² great influence for his cause.

The relation of Wesley to the Church of England is most interesting. He was a loyal son of the Church and remained so to the day of his death. Yet, he was

1. Wesley's Works, vol. VII, pp. 259-273.

2. Journal, vol. III, pp. 98-104, 290, 473.

See also, Simon, J. S., John Wesley and the Advance of Methodism.

the founder of one of the greatest of the dissenting churches. This apparent inconsistency may be only understood as one considers the problem which confronted Wesley in the development of his religious program. He was above all a practical man. There was a task to be done, and he worked to that end, through the agencies of the Church when possible, but when those agencies were not available through ones he himself created. It was the development of his system which led inevitably to separation, yet, Wesley tenaciously and loyally clung to the Church which had all but repudiated him. Dr. Simon says:

"From the records of the first Conference it is clear that Wesley and his associates were aware that they were getting within sight of a possible separation from the Church of England. The question was pointedly ask; Do we separate from the Church? and was answered in the negative."¹

The fact that the question is raised and discussed indicates that the trend towards separation had set in. The attitude of the clergy, the growth of the Societies, and the consequent need for leaders forced

1. Simon, J. S., John Wesley and the Advance of Methodism, p. 212.

Wesley to a course of action that meant separation in spite of his unwillingness to concede such action. Charles Wesley fought every tendency towards separation, He objected to John Wesley's address to the King, because:

"Your address in the name of the Methodists would constitute us a sect; at least it would seem to allow that we are a body distinct from the National Church, whereas¹ we are only a sound part of that Church."

The address was not presented to the King.

The development of the movement brought about such a complete organization as to inevitably place it outside the Establishment. Wesley knew that what was but a nominal attachment to the Church would cease when he was gone, and separation would be complete. He relaxed rules from time to time, which were designed to hold his Societies in the Church. This was true of the rule which forbade the holding of services in Methodist Chapels at the hour of² regular services in the Established Church.

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1. Whitehead, J., Life of John Wesley, pp. 384, 385.
Simon, J. S., John Wesley and the Religious Societies, p. 182.
 2. Wesley's Works, vol. VII, p. 315.

The most significant action which he took was in his ordinations. In 1780 he ordained Dr. Coke as Superintendent of the American Societies. At the same time he ordained the lay preachers Richard Whatcoat and Thomas Vasey as Presbyters. Wesley had stepped aside from ecclesiastical custom whenever necessity demanded, but heretofore he had had some shadow of precedent. In this act he had very little, if any. He, a presbyter, had assumed episcopal functions in ordaining presbyters and setting apart one who was to be in all respects a bishop. He had convinced himself that presbyter and episcopus were one and the same and that he had the right to ordain. One suspects that the exigency of the moment had much to do with his decision.¹ He might aver that this did not mean separation, but it was patent to others that it was a step which practically established a sect. Charles Wesley considered it separation and was heavy at heart when he heard what had been done. It is a matter of satisfaction that John Wesley had the courage to do what was necessary to save his work in America, though his action must have brought real pangs of regret, for he was too clear a thinker to overlook the significance of his action. In 1789 he writes:

1. Simon, J. S., The Wesley Historical Proceedings, vol. 1X, pp. 145-154.

"I never had any design of separating from the Church. I have no such design now. I do not believe the Methodists in general design it, when I am no more seen, I do, and will do, all that is in my power to prevent such an event. Nevertheless, in spite of all that I can do, many of them will separate from it; although I am apt to think, not one half, perhaps not a third, of them. These will be so bold and injudicious as to form a separate party. In flat opposition to these, I declare once more, that I live and die a member of the Church of England; and that none who regard my judgment or advice will ever separate¹ from it."

His sincerity is unquestioned; his loyalty to the Church unfeigned. Yet, by his own acts he had set in motion the train of events which led to actual² separation.

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1. Wesley's Works, vol. VII, pp. 273-283, 293-298, 325-326.
 2. See Simon, John Wesley and the Religious Societies, p. 212.

"Many who saw the commencement of Methodism, and marked its rapid progress, predicted that within thirty years from its rise it would arrive at its climax. In the year 1769, however, just thirty years after.....the work was still progressing."¹

The Wesleyan movement was not an ephemeral wave of religious hysteria. There was more than mere "enthusiasm" in it. It was based on the preaching of sound and practical doctrines, and was preserved through an organization developed by an ecclesiastical statesman. It grew until England was covered with a network of Societies with thousands enrolled as members. Ireland, Wales, and Scotland were likewise a part of the parish which had the personal oversight of Wesley himself in his years of arduous toil; and beyond the seas, men who had felt the hands of the master-builder upon their heads in consecration, carried the message of Wesleyanism to the many thousands. From the little Societies at the Foundery and in Bristol the extension had gone on until at the time of Wesley's death it was one of the largest and most influential religious bodies in the United Kingdom. The persecution of the early years had ceased but

1. Holroyd, J. B., Historical Sketches of Christianity in England, p. 513.

the zeal of the Itinerants knew no abatement. Into all lands the Wesleyan apostles have gone until today there are millions who look to Epworth, Aldergate, and City Road as the Jews of old looked towards Jerusalem. Defections and secessions have come, until there are many bodies with no official relation to each other who look to Wesley as their founder and inspiration. The mighty little man who shook old Britain to her foundations is still mighty in his spiritual descendants.

In this brief resume something of the inception and development of the movement has been sketched. The study would be incomplete without a consideration of the message and influence of Wesleyanism. This phase is dealt with in the chapter which follows.

CHAPTER II

THE WESLEYAN MESSAGE AND INFLUENCE

England was waiting for the Wesleyan message. Deism had given an absent deity and the masses hungered for a God who cared and was a friend. Wesley showed them that God had never been away and that is why his message had such a grip. Yet the message and its power cannot be explained apart from the personality of John Wesley, the preacher. There is a danger of minimizing the value of his preaching in an emphasis upon his organizing¹ genius. There is no question as to the genius of Wesley as a wise builder and a careful organizer, yet, without the dynamic message and the great personality of the messenger there would have been little to organize. Great religious movements must have their prophets and preachers; their organizers and builders; and Methodism was fortunate in having a leader who had all the qualities of great leadership. As a preacher he had superiors, yet granting this, it is still a recognized fact that the greatest strength of the movement was in its herald. One naturally asks as to the personal appearance of

1. Stoughton, Religion in England, p. 289.

John Wesley, the preacher. What manner of man did England of the eighteenth century see when listening to the herald of Methodism? What were the traits of character, the methods in, and the effects of his preaching?

Wesley's likeness is familiar in the many¹ pictures which have come to us from his day. We have in addition word pictures by Southey, Walpole² and other contemporaries. These help us to reconstruct the flesh and blood Wesley. His Journal abounds with revealing incidents which give us further light as to his character and assist in bringing a clearer picture. One sees a little man of about five feet three inches in stature, square in build, and of clear and healthy complexion. He might be called dapper in appearance, for he was the soul of neatness and very meticulous in habit. The following description is in close agreement with others:

"His face for an old man, was one of the finest we have seen. A clear, smooth forehead, an aquiline nose, an eye the brightest and most piercing that can be

1. Journal, vol. VII, pp. 461, 462.

2. Ibid., vol V, p. 189; vol VI, p. 347.

conceived; and a freshness of complexion scarcely ever to be found at his years, and impressive of the most perfect health,- conspired to render him a venerable and interesting figure. Few have seen him without being struck with his appearance, In dress, he was a pattern of neatness and simplicity. A narrow, plaited stock; a coat with a small upright collar; no buckles at his knees; no silk or velvet in any part of his apparel, and a head as white as snow, gave an idea of something primitive and apostolic; while an air of neatness and cleanliness was diffused over his whole person.¹"

The foregoing description is that of John Hampson, one of Wesley's preachers, and while it is that of one who knew him in later years, it may well serve, for Wesley changed less in appearance as he advanced in years than do most men. It has been suggested that the voluminous robes in which Wesley is usually pictured, give an appearance of greater substance to his figure than is warranted by facts.²

1. Journal, vol. viii, p. 63.

2. Ibid., vol. vii, pp. 461, 462.

He was almost frail and his life of ceaseless activity had a tendency to keep him thin. What he lacked in physical presence was more than compensated for in his poise and self-possession. He could command a situation that would have overwhelmed men of greater physical presence.

The term "genteel" would apply to him with aptness. He was of gentle blood and good manners and refinement were innate. His culture and refinement did not act as a barrier to his free approach to the multitudes for Wesley's gentility was of that kind which harboured no trace of snobbery. He was not only a gentleman in appearance and manner but he was one in act. His courage and gentleness went hand in hand. The labourer found him as courteous as did the great dignitary. A man of many conservative tendencies he was without any trace of sycophancy which would induce him to offer greater courtesy to one in a high station than to one in a lower rank. Wesley was never dazzled by the attentions of great lords and ladies and he numbered many of them among his friends on both sides of the Border. One suspects that Whitefield was more susceptible to the glamour of rank than was Wesley. The fact that he came from a lower walk in life might account for his greater deference

to rank.¹ Wesley could be, and was on occasion, abrupt and plain spoken, yet this in no way invalidates the statements made relative to his general attitude of courtesy and gentlemanly behaviour. There are times when plainness is demanded and Wesley found it necessary to speak with sharpness and authority on many occasions. Undoubtedly there were times when he was at fault in such speaking, yet that is to be expected for he was far from being infallible.

Wesley was not a great scholar, but he was a diligent student and he had a clear, logical mind. He seized every opportunity to study and his wandering life made this rather difficult. It was no uncommon sight for the traveller of that day to meet the neat, black-clad rider, engrossed in the pages of a book, while his horse took its own plodding way. The Journal is filled with references

1. Abbey and Overton, The English Church in the Eighteenth Century, pp. 332, 333.

to his horseback studies.¹ The amazing fact which confronts one is the amount of writing which Wesley did in a life so filled with travelling and preaching. There is not much that he wrote which is pertinent today, save his Journal which is a document of great human interest. Yet in his own day his writings were effective and he has a place among the theological writers of that era.

As a preacher Wesley did not rank with Whitefield in eloquence or in oratorical ability. In manner he was calm and poised, speaking without apparent strain, and being devoid of anything which might savour of sensationalism. Indeed Wesley cautioned his preachers against screaming in the pulpit, a fault which he thought prejudicial to good

1. Journal, vol. ii, p. 347; vol. iii, pp. 17, 18, 40, 215, 232, 241, 285, 367, 490, 537; vol. iv, pp. 45, 82, 93, 95, 96, 139, 188, 200, 256, 260, 264, 363, 378; vol. v, pp. 36, 107, 227, 238, 248, 257, 264, 303, 304, 322, 326, 347, 351, 360, 361, 425, 433, 439, 445, 457, 458, 480, 492, 516, 517, 521; vol. vi, pp. 6, 7, 10, 20, 21, 22, 23, 28, 82, 95, 97, 98, 134, 169, 186, 210, 230, 241, 263, 322, 325, 326, 333, 402, 507; vol. vii, pp. 13, 14, 80, 81, 89, 90, 139, 140, 162, 232, 241, 258, 304, 305, 338, 339, 493, 521.

health, as well as good taste.¹ Wesley's pulpit appearance and manner is described as follows:

"His attitude in the pulpit was graceful and easy; his action calm and natural, yet pleasing and expressive; his voice not loud, but clear and manly; his style neat, simple, and perspicuous; and admirably adapted to the capacity of his hearers. His discourses in point of composition, were extremely different on different occasions. When he gave himself sufficient time for study, he succeeded; but when he did not² he frequently failed."

It is not possible to judge Wesley's preaching from his printed sermons. They lost in printing, without doubt, much of the personality which made them so effective. Much of his preaching was done in the open and of an extempore nature and has not been preserved. His peculiar power seems to have come from the intensity of his convictions, and his

1. Journal, vol. v, p. 459; vol. vii, pp. 220, 221.

Abbey and Overton, The English Church in the Eighteenth Century, p. 325.

2. Whitehead, John, Life of John Wesley, p. 549.

utter sincerity. Love of God, and love one to another, were his favourite themes.¹ In his preaching he used what he called "plain-speaking". There was no attempt to preach so as to please his hearers, neither did he attempt to frighten them through lurid pictures of eternal damnation. The Gospel and its glorious promises furnished him with a theme which came in compelling power to poor, hungry England.

His style has been termed colloquial, which applies doubtless to his open-air sermons. We know he prepared sermons carefully, writing them out. Yet he would not be able to use a manuscript when preaching out of doors. This led to a greater informality. He was always ready to preach when opportunity offered, and spoke from the fullness² of his heart.

The effects of Wesley's preaching in Bristol and surrounding territory in the summer of 1739, led to much criticism and ridicule of the preacher. The strange seizures, groanings, and prostrations seem to have occurred more often in meetings held

1. See Tyerman, Winchester, and Moore, Life of John Wesley.
2. Journal, vol. VI, p. 248.

indoors. The phenomena (was) doubtless due to extreme emotionalism and in many cases (was)¹ genuine. Wesley did not encourage this nor did it characterize the movement as a whole. That the preaching of Wesley aroused intense emotion is true, for his earnestness, simplicity, and directness knocked with compelling power on the hearts of his hearers. The highly emotional gave way to hysterical manifestations under such preaching, and the result was criticism of the entire movement. Wesley's own poise and strength made him incapable of judging (this) phenomena and he was too ready to ascribe the hysteria to supernatural influences. This effect was spectacular but not significant. The significant effect was that drunkards, blasphemers, and evil-doers gave over their iniquities and found new life in the promises of God; that callous indifference gave way to vital religious experience, and thousands came to know the richness of God's love. Never had England witnessed such transformations in living as came through the preaching of Wesley. In the work he had helpers, but his flame was the steady light which burned its way through the darkness. Horace Walpole wrote to Sir Horace Mann, "if you are coming to England you must

1. Journal, vol. ii, pp. 198-204.

prepare yourself with Methodism. I really think by that time it will be necessary. Methodism is more fashionable than anything but brag.¹ Walpole had no high regard for religion and his statement has a mocking quality which does not, however, detract from its witness to the fact of Methodism's appeal to many of the higher class. Walpole referred, doubtless, to the gatherings held at the home of Selina, Countess of Huntingdon, where the elite of society came to hear Whitefield's preaching. Wesley was in sympathy with Whitefield's labours among the "select ladies", but he did not have any great faith in the effectiveness of the work among them.² He preferred to address himself to the multitudes and had no time to court the great. When they were a part of his audience he welcomed them with the same plain speaking which always characterized his preaching. He found true friends among them who gave him their life-long friendship, yet his greatest success was among the lowly. "One of the greatest missionaries of all history,"³ Trevelyan

1. Abbey and Overton, The English Church in the Eighteenth Century, pp. 347-8. Winchester, The Life of John Wesley, p. 197.

2. Winchester, Life of John Wesley, p. 199.

3. Trevelyan, G. M. History of England, pp. 519-20.

calls him, and the facts bear witness to the truth of this statement made by one who at the most is but a luke-warm admirer of the Methodists. One turns from this winsome preacher, courteous, courageous, plain-spoken, and compelling, to note the message he brought.

Dr. Simon says of Wesley that "he was essentially a practical man, more deeply impressed by facts than by theories",¹ and this judgment supported by practically all scholars is a key to his message. His constant appeal was to experience in religion and he was more concerned to impress on men the power of God's love than to bring them to uniformity in doctrine. Yet it was the fate of this great preacher to have his mind too frequently distracted by controversy over doctrinal points, and to have his movement identified with certain doctrines which he by no means over-emphasized. Doctrine was not an unimportant part of his religion, but it was not the sum of it. In 1748 he wrote:

"The points we chiefly insisted upon were four: First, that orthodoxy, or

1. Simon, J. S., John Wesley and the Religious Societies, p. 185.

right opinions, is, at best, but a very slender part of religion, if it can be allowed to be any part at all; that neither does religion consist in negations nor merely in externals in works of piety or of charity; that it is nothing short of, or different from the 'mind that was in Christ', the image of God stamped upon the heart; inward righteousness, attended with the peace of God; Secondly, that the only way under heaven to this religion is, to "repent and believe the Gospel"; or 'repentance toward God, and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ'. Thirdly, that by this faith, 'he that worketh not, but believeth on him that justifieth the ungodly, is justified freely by his grace, through the redemption which is in Jesus Christ', and, Lastly, that 'being justified by faith', we taste of the heaven to which we are going; we are holy and happy and sit in heavenly¹ places with Christ Jesus."

1. Wesley, John, Works, vol. v, p. 176. Also see pp. 240, ff.

This gives us the germ of his theological teaching. However, Wesley's theology was not static but it grew with his experience of God.¹ His age was one of doctrinal controversy and with his revitalizing of older concepts it was inevitable that he should become involved in these discussions. He had a philosophical mind and thought clearly, and though he gave nothing that was essentially new to theology, he shattered the pet dogmas of the day and started a new religious impulse in the churches. The doctrine of a limited salvation had no place in Wesley's religion. His theme was love; love of God for every man, and the open door to salvation for all who would enter in. He preached few sermons that were purely doctrinal. The Journal abounds with references to his sermons and God's promises² are favorite texts.

He became the leading exponent of Arminianism, and perhaps no other fact is more significantly eloquent of his power than the widespread sweep of the Arminian theology today. Calvinism has given way even in its former strongholds and the teaching of "universal redemption" is no longer a novel

1. Brash, Methodism, p. 72.

2. See Register of Sermons, Journal, vol. viii, pp. 71-252.

tenet. Arminianism was a term used in a wider sense. It was a negation of Calvinism rather than a positive theory in the thinking of many. Arminius could not accept one of the fundamental doctrines of the reformed church, as interpreted by Calvin, namely, predestination. He claimed that this made God the author of sin and of condemnation of men. He taught conditional predestination and emphasized faith and free-will.¹ Wesley could not accept the Calvinistic view of predestination. Stated in its baldest form this doctrine says:

"God predestined the fall of Adam and its awful consequence of eternal death to the greater part of his posterity, who by God's decree were predestined to eternal perdition."²

Wesley and his followers recognized the words "elect" and "election" but in no Calvinistic sense. That it implied an eternal, unconditional consignment of countless hosts to eternal damnation regardless of their manner of life Wesley denied. Christians were God's elect but that a compassionate Father could

1. Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia, vol. i, pp. 296, 297.

Russel, The Evangelical Movement, pp. 7, 8.

2. Russell, The Evangelical Movement, pp. 7, 8.

elect some to eternal life and others to eternal death, did not fit the conception of God's love as Wesley found it. Christ died for all men but all have the privilege of choosing whether they will accept the opportunity of coming to Him. It was at this point that Wesley and Whitefield differed for¹ Whitefield held to unconditional predestination.

Much of the objection to Wesley's teachings came through a misunderstanding of what he taught. He was misquoted and his writings were garbled until they lost the original sense. The controversial writings make this clear. Sometimes the misrepresentations were unintentional, but polemic writing in the eighteenth century did not hesitate to misrepresent. Again there can be little doubt but what ignorance as to the doctrinal standards of the Church of England accounted for some part of the misunderstanding. Wesley went over all controverted points, making clear his position as consistent with the Scriptures and the Church of England. He had reasoned out clearly and with certainty his

1. Mollard, T., The Difference Between the Methodists and the Church of Scotland, pp. 11-20.

Simon, J. S., John Wesley and the Methodist Societies, pp. 33, 34. Schaff-Herzog, Encyclopedia, vol. i, pp. 296, 297.

position and could not be shaken.¹ However, he did not love controversy, and probably convinced none of his chief opponents. The value of it lies in the fact that the controversy gives us a clear phrasing and authoritative statement of his theological conceptions.

One of the cardinal doctrines of the Reformation was Justification by faith. In the eighteenth century in England this was a doctrine generally believed but practically forgotten. It came as a shock to hear from Wesley that there was no good thing in a man till he was justified. Neither good works, right opinions, or sacraments availed. In Wesley's own words:

"And therefore St. Paul requires nothing on the part of man but only a true and living faith. Yet this faith does not shut out repentance, hope and love, which are joined with faith in every man that is justified neither does faith shut out good works, necessarily to be done afterward. But we may not do them

1. Simon, Wesley and the Methodist Societies, p. 154. Holroyd, Historical Sketches of Christianity, pp. 509, 510.

to this intent,--to be justified by doing them. Our justification comes freely, of the mere mercy of God In strictness, therefore, neither our faith nor our works justify us, that is, deserve the remission of sins. But God himself justifies us of his own mercy, through the merits of his Son only.¹"

Justification came as no new doctrine but he filled it with a life and spirit which roused the smug and over conventional clergy and led to charges of enthusiasm.² He was also accused of teaching that a sinner could be justified by works.³ This grew out of a misunderstanding of Wesley's position for he is clear and explicit.

Closely linked with Justification is the doctrine of Regeneration--the New Birth. Briefly stated this doctrine affirms that after God had done something for the sinner, namely Justification, he

1. Wesley, Works, vol V, pp. 255 ff.

2. Winchester, The Life of John Wesley, pp. 159, 160. Journal, vol. I, p. 454; vol. II, p. 275, 326.

3. See Dr. Erskine's charges in the Hervey controversy. Also Wesley's Works, vol. VI, pp. 125 ff.

did something in him, and this was the New Birth. Through Justification he took away man's guilt; the New Birth took away the power of sin. Justification and Regeneration are thus considered simultaneous acts. In this work man co-operates with God. Conversion, or Justification, was an instantaneous work, and the moment a man had a living faith in Christ he was justified, regenerated, and had peace¹ with God.

Wesley further taught that man might have assurance of justification through the Witness of the Spirit. More than God's standing testimony in Scriptures, more than the testimony of a man's own spirit to the fact of his conversion, was the direct testimony of God's spirit producing an impression on the soul. This revelation could be tested in that the fruits of the Spirit would bear witness to its validity. "The full assurance which excludes all doubt and fear might not come till long after", said Wesley but that did not invalidate the immediate² Witness of the Spirit.

1. Wesley, Works, vol. v, p. 261. Journal, vol. ii, pp. 249, 250.

2. Wesley, Works, vol. v, p. 260. Also Journal, vol. ii, pp. 333, 334; vol. iv, p. 424.

The doctrine of the Perseverance of the Saints was one which brought Wesley and his followers into conflict with their opponents the Calvinists. Wesley believed in the doctrine of the Perseverance of the Saints but in a modified form to that held by the Calvinists. Wesley taught that God is willing and able to keep Christians from falling, and that if they continue to do his will, they never shall fall. Yet, he believed that a Christian might prove unfaithful to the grace of God, and fall both totally and finally.¹ This teaching denied the Calvinist view as to "Election" for according to their teaching the elect could not fall. These views of Wesley were widely disseminated and in the dissemination they were sadly distorted.

No teaching of Wesley aroused more criticism than the Doctrine of Perfection. He was accused of teaching "sinless perfection" a phrase which he did not use and which he opposed. He denied that this life excluded all involuntary transgressions. These he would not call sins. Sin was a voluntary transgression of the law. He did not believe that a Christian had to sin as long as he lived and he

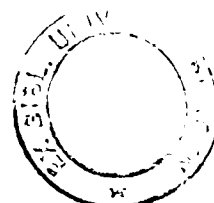
1. Mollard, T., The Difference Between the Methodists, etc., p. 41. Wesley's Works, vol. vi, pp. 81 ff.

taught a positive phase of perfection which was the whole-hearted love of God and man. His view he expressed in a number of his pamphlets and in his sermons. He said:

"Perhaps the general prejudice against Christian Perfection may chiefly arise from a misapprehension of the nature of it. We willingly allow, and continually declare, there is no such perfection in this life, as implies either a dispensation from doing good and attending all the ordinances of God; or a freedom from ignorance, mistake, temptation, and a thousand infirmities necessarily connected with flesh and blood 'But whom then do you mean by one that is perfect?' We mean one in whom 'is the mind which was in Christ', and who so 'walketh as Christ walked'; a 'man that hath clean hands and a pure heart'¹

It is interesting to note that Wesley never claimed perfection for himself. He believed that a Christian who had attained to this degree could lose it, and constant effort was needed to keep it. He did

1. Wesley, Works, vol. v, pp. 257, 258.



not place the doctrine too high, though it was distinctive in his teaching. He rebuked his followers who put an over-emphasis upon it, and who misinterpreted it. George Bell and Thomas Maxfield who were useful helpers in the great revival work came under the severe condemnation of Wesley for the wild enthusiasms into which they were led through overstressing this doctrine. The excesses into which Bell and Maxfield were led caused Wesley to modify his own views on the doctrine and he emphasized the practical interpretation of it more and more as time went on.¹

If there was one teaching which characterized the Wesleyan movement more than any other it was Universal Redemption. The controversy which was engendered through the preaching of the doctrine has been referred to earlier. John Wesley had found the Church of England article entitled "Of Predestination and Election" a problem. He solved it as did Bishop Burnet by putting his own interpretation upon it. This was the Arminian view that 'Christ died for all men.' This did not render the salvation of any man unconditionally certain, but it

1. Journal, vol. iv, pp. 534, ff. Wesley, Works, vol. ii, pp. 167, ff; vol. v, pp. 257, 258; vol. vi, pp. 483, ff.

made the salvation of all men possible. The quickening power of this great message on the lips of Wesley and his preachers spread through all England. It is the heart and center of their message. Dr. Simon says:

"Their preaching of it is one of the secrets of their extraordinary success as national evangelists. If through hesitancy or love of compromise they had failed to sound this trumpet-note of the jubilee of mankind, the Methodist Reformation would never have been accomplished."¹

No other doctrine could have opened the doors of so many hearts as this one which revealed a loving God seeking those who were lost, and saying the great "whosoever". The other teachings are subordinate to this and of themselves would have no such appeal² to the masses lost in their sins.

The foregoing paragraphs briefly summarize the teachings and message of Wesley. Only those

1. Simon, John Wesley and the Methodist Societies, p. 34.

2. Ibid., pp. 33, 34. Mollard, Differences Between Methodists, etc, p. 21.

doctrines which had prominence have been noted. The standard doctrines of the Church of England, such as Original Sin, have not been touched upon. To these doctrines Wesley subscribed, but in his teaching they did not stand out as those which have been dealt with. The man and the message have been presented. It remains to indicate briefly some of the influences of the message as brought by Wesley.

Reference has previously been made to the effect of the Wesleyan movement on the life of England.¹ The improvement in morals, and the quickening of spiritual life was noticeable chiefly among those who may be spoken of as the unchurched. There was, nevertheless, a definite and decided influence on the various religious groups. The preaching of Wesley was positive. The fruits of a righteous life were to be found in conduct. The validity of the Christian experience was to be found in the life of the professed. He not only reproved the drunkard and evil-doer, but he attacked such practices as smuggling, and political corruption.² These practices were not uncommon among so-called Christians but Wesley would have none of it among his followers. The influence of his positive

1. See Chapter i, pp. 2, 3.

2. Winchester, Life of John Wesley, pp. 213, 214.

preaching extended beyond the bounds of his own group and was felt within other religious communities.

The dissenting churches were enriched immeasurably through the Wesleyan message. Wesley found little more encouragement from Dissenters¹ than from Churchmen. However, these churches had a strong evangelical tradition which made it easier to accept the impulse from the vigorous Methodists. Many of their members were soundly converted under Wesleyan preaching and remaining within their respective churches filled them with a new spiritual enthusiasm. Some of Wesley's preachers who separated from him entered the pulpits of non-conformist congregations taking with them his message and something of his power in impressing it upon people. Non-conformity was thus more susceptible to the influence of Wesley than was the Established Church.

Wesley had hoped to quicken England through the Established Church of England. His Societies were organized with that objective in mind and narrow-minded ecclesiastics who feared enthusiasm forced him to use other channels than those of his own church. It does not follow, however, that the

1. Lecky, History of England, vol. iii, p. 75.

Established Church remained outside the sphere of Wesley's influence. New concepts of religion came to all the Protestant churches through the work and preaching of Wesley. Episcopalians were bound with the fetters of formalism and their services were of a stereotyped nature. The written discourse was the only type of preaching employed to any extent and this was not calculated to stimulate warmth or deep spiritual experience. The conscious or unconscious influence of Wesleyanism was seen in the growing tendency to broaden their worship to include more of what Stoughton terms "social spiritual engagements".¹ This does not mean that the Established Church adopted love-feasts, or class-meetings, but a greater warmth and spirit entered their services. This change was not immediate. Wesley's work was largely with those outside the pale of the Establishment, and the effect of his preaching and labours was to reach his own church through a slow and gradual process of impingement upon its bulwarks of formalism. Yet, the leaven of Methodism was effective in altering the entire spirit of the Establishment.² It is recognized that credit is also due

1. Stoughton, The English Church in the Eighteenth Century, pp. 429, ff.

2. Lecky, History of England, vol III, p. 1.

to the group of clergymen within the Established Church who were in sympathy with the spirit of Wesley's preaching though they could not follow him in all his methods. Yet, without Wesley's superb leadership and personality which made possible the revivifying of English religious life, the work and influence of this group of good men would have been as little eddies in a troubled sea.

The separation of the Methodists from the Church was a loss, but the gain from the movement more than counter-balanced the loss in membership. It lost in members but it gained in life. Had the Church opened its doors to Wesley and his movement, it could not have developed in such power as it did outside the Church. Its hold on the masses, so effective a check to revolutionary developments, was due to the fact that Wesley went outside Church conventions and forms to find them.

The great religious movements of the nineteenth century find their stimulus in Wesley's message. "The world is my parish", becomes the inspiration of great missionary enterprise and achievement. The Sunday School movement was nourished by Wesleyan influences, and the slave emancipation movement owes more to Methodism than to any other single force. It is difficult to conceive of

these great movements arising in the atmosphere of cold formality which prevailed before Wesley smote the anvil of God. The preaching of the great truths of God's redeeming love, and the contagion of the songs of Methodism were to fill the churches with a new sense of the love of God, and love toward men.

It is not easy to understand how one man could so dynamically infuse a great movement with his spirit. Yet the fact remains as a vital part of history. There is profound cause for gratitude that England's eighteenth century high-ways and by-ways came to know the presence of God through the preaching of his evangelist, John Wesley.

England is not Scotland! Dare the intrepid preacher who faced the mobs of England confront the coldly intellectual, and theologically-minded congregations beyond the Tweed? He dared, and Scotland, tenacious in her storied faith, was not to entirely reject him.

What was the Scotland of the eighteenth century like? What did Wesley find in the mental and spiritual attitudes of the Scot? The answer is to be found in the political and religious conditions existing there. These conditions had a profound effect on the development of Wesleyanism. One

follows Wesley from the England which he understood beyond the Border into the Scotland which was as an¹ unopened book to him.

1. For further development of the influence of Wesley see, Tyerman, Life and Times of John Wesley; J. S. Simon, John Wesley and the Advance of Methodism; J. S. Simon, John Wesley, the Master Builder.

PART II

SCOTLAND IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

CHAPTER I

POLITICAL MOVEMENTS AND THEIR SIGNIFICANCE

The eighteenth century ushered in a new day for Scotland. The seventeenth century had been occupied largely in the settlement of the religious question, and the turmoil of these years had made progress in other fields practically impossible. That there was a strengthening of national character and a deepening of the intellectual and spiritual life is evident. The people were, however, provincial and impoverished, and compared with their southern neighbours crude in manner of life. This was to be changed in the eighteenth century and Scots with their vigorous characteristics and mental alertness were to take a large part in the affairs of the United Kingdom.

"No period in the history of Scotland is more momentous than that between the Revolution and the middle of the eighteenth century, for in no other period did Scotland take so many steps on the path which

leads from anarchy to civilization."¹

These steps were in many fields but in this chapter we are concerned with political movements which were of significance. Though political events in Scotland were overshadowed by those in England, it does not follow that the former nation was without a political life which was peculiarly her own. This was especially true in the first half of the century when Scottish nationalism was intensified through the struggle for the Union and when Jacobite plotting kept the nation in a turmoil.

After centuries of warfare Scotland and England found themselves partners through the accession of James VI to the English throne. The mosstroopers hung up their jacks and spears and peace reigned on the Border. The Parliamentary struggle and Cromwellian regime furnished opportunity for a renewal of the age-long warfare between English and Scot, but the old days of almost constant foray and raid were over. Scottish and English dislike and suspicion of each other had found a healthy outlet on the battle-field. The years of peace did nothing to remove the ill-will and consequently it festered into deeper rancour. Scotland had found no

1. Lecky, History of England, vol. III, p. 56.

advantage in the personal union of the crowns. Her kingly line forgot its northern genesis and Scotland was slowly reduced to a state of near vassalage to the wealthier nation. This galled her pride and made her resentful and bitter. However individual Scots may have rejoiced in the opportunities afforded in opulent England, the nation as a whole found they¹ had made but a poor bargain.

There were no ties to bind the two peoples save the slender tie of a common ruler. When these rulers forgot their Scottish blood and identified themselves with the dominant nation and its interests, the slender cord uniting the two peoples became attenuated indeed. It seems strange to find two peoples with so little to divide in the way of geographical boundaries, so far apart in thought and mode of life.

"Scotland though geographically separated from England by only an invisible march here and a narrow river there, was socially far separated by immemorial antagonism, by bitter historical traditions, by strength of inveterate prejudice, by diversity of laws, by opposition of Church creed and polity, by hostile in-

1. Craik, A Century of Scottish History, pp. 1-4.

terests in trade, by contrasts in ways
of living, tone of thought, and mode of
speech."¹

The contrast between the two peoples is striking, and though the end of the century was to find Scotland and England in closer harmony than had ever been known in the past, their harmony had much that was superficial, and old antagonisms still lurked in the background. Scotland merged her life more and more with that of the United Kingdom, yet she did not lose her individuality, nor her interest in her peculiar national traditions.

The Union of Scotland and England in 1707 was the consummation long hoped for by English statesmen and by far-seeing Scots who recognized the advantages to be obtained through such amalgamation. The fact that the masses of the Scots were hostile is a testimony to their deep nationalism and passionate attachment to their status as an independent nation. Their age-long struggle against England for the preservation of independence seemed now to be of no avail, and England was to accomplish through bribery and intrigue what she had not been

1. Grahame, H. G., Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century, p. 1.

able to secure through the arbitrament of war. Such a notion was common in the eighteenth century, and is not entirely gone in our own day. It is fostered by the tactlessness of English writers and statesmen who, ignoring the facts of history, use the term England when Great Britain is the constitutional designation for the United Kingdom. The facts are that Scotland was not sold but found herself face to face with the alternative of Union or a bitter struggle with England which would have in all likelihood ruined her economically and politically. The Union was her salvation and she made a good bargain. In exchange for her own Parliament, which sentimentally had a value but practically was worthless, she became a partner in a new nation, the United Kingdom, and with the right to share in the lucrative trade that formerly had been denied her. "Incorporation as the price of free trade, is the secret of the union."¹

Attempts to unite the two countries had been made again and again. Roman and Saxon had failed through coercion and it was left to attempt a union through marriage. Edward I proposed the marriage of his son and successor and the heiress of the

1. MacKinnon, The Union of England and Scotland,
p. 227.

Scottish throne, the Maid of Norway. Had the treaty been carried out the union would have been consummated on the wise plan of Edward. The death of the Maid of Norway prevented this and one can only wonder what the course of history would have been as touching England and Scotland. The Maid's death threw Scotland into the turmoil of factions and rival claimants, and Edward I returned to the old plan of coercion. This widened the breach between the countries and led to years of conflict.

Henry VII made an attempt to unite the countries through marriage when in 1502 he secured the marriage of his daughter Margaret to the Scottish King James IV. In the end this marriage brought about the union of the crowns in 1603 and paved the way for the union of the kingdoms in 1707. Henry VIII attempted to bring about the union through a marriage of his daughter Mary to James V of Scotland, and when that did not materialize through the marriage of his son Edward to Mary of Scotland the daughter of James. The Scots would have none of these unions though Henry did secure a party of Scottish nobles to abet him. In 1547 after the battle of Pinkie, Hertford, Lord Protector of England, offered a treaty of union almost identical with that of 1707 so far as its principal provisions were concerned. The Scots would have none of it, though

such a union would have been the part of wisdom. With the development of the Reformation in Scotland a new policy becomes evident, and we find the Protestant party of Scotland favouring a closer alliance with England and repudiating the ancient alliance with Catholic France. The culmination of this new relationship between England and Scotland was seen in the accession of the Protestant King James of Scotland to the English throne in 1603. The two crowns were united after years of scheming on the part of English kings and statesmen.

James was a unionist and assumed the title King of Great Britain. His suggestion for a union was not well received by the English who feared the Scots unless they could be brought into a union as a subject state. The Scots were more ready for the suggestion, but the English attitude and the King's subsequent attempts to coerce the Scots in religious matters, changed their temper and the old bitterness toward England was revived. The union under Cromwell, which was in effect a forced union, had one consequence inasmuch as it revealed to Scotsmen the material advantages which a union with England would bring. The loss of the trading advantages which came as a result of the Restoration deepened Scottish discontent with the old system which bound

them through a common ruler to a nation which discriminated against them in matters of trade. The religious policy which desolated Scotland added to that discontent. James II united the Whig parties in both countries through his aggression on the constitutions and led Scotland to unite with England¹ in calling William and Mary.

The coming of William and Mary was welcome to all of Scotland save the Jacobites. The Presbyterians hoped that he would champion their cause and recognize the Presbyterian faith as the religion of Scotland. In this they were not disappointed, and the Revolution Settlement gave Scotland an established Presbyterian Church. The good impression made by this act was lost, however, in the torrent of ill-feeling which was created by his subsequent attitude toward the Scots. Two incidents in particular created ill-feeling, namely, the massacre of the Glencoe MacDonalds, and the failure of the Darien Scheme. William bore the brunt of the ill-will, but England did not escape. The century opened with old wounds bleeding and new ones inflicted. The bitter feeling engendered made it very clear that incorporate union was a necessity.

1. MacKinnon . The Union of Scotland and England, chapter I.

The massacre of Glencoe was a needless atrocity perpetrated through government connivance and satisfying an old clan grudge. The failure of MacIan, the chief of the MacDonalds of Glencoe, to take the oath of allegiance by the First of January, 1692, as provided for in the proclamation of amnesty was used as an excuse. The old man was two days late and though the sheriff depute forwarded his oath to the Privy Council at Edinburgh with explanations as to the delay, it was of no avail. The massacre took place and Scotland seethed with indignation. Europe as a whole was horrified. Public demand forced William to appoint a commission and the lord advocate for Scotland, Sir John Dalrymple, was found to be responsible. William's part was no less clear. He had authorized the massacre and though the commission tried to protect him, his complicity in the shameful act was all too evident¹ and is a dark blot on his administration.

The failure of the Darien Scheme caused even greater ill-feeling than the massacre of Glencoe. Scotland had lagged far behind England in commercial

1. Craik, A Century of Scottish History, pp. 11-15.
 Brown, History of Scotland, vol. iii, pp. 15-17.
 MacKinnon, The Union of Scotland and England,
 pp. 12-14.

development in the seventeenth century. This was partly due to her own neglect of opportunities and partly to the effect of the union of the crowns. Prior to the accession of James VI to the English throne, Scotland had had a thriving trade with France and the low countries. After 1603 that trade declined due to English antagonism in a large measure. England was busy in that century developing her trade but she was unwilling to share with Scotland in that development.

The Scottish Parliament attempted through legislation to remedy the economic evils existing in the country. Laws were passed for the encouragement of Scottish trade and every effort was put forth to bring Scotland into the stream of commercial development. The age was one of commercial enterprise and as a part of the Scottish legislative program the Darien Scheme was authorized that Scotland might share in the lucrative overseas trade. William Patterson, founder of the Bank of England, was the promoter. The plan, in brief, was to establish a great Scottish trading company which should compare with the British and Dutch India companies. Patterson proposed the establishment of a colony on the Isthmus of Darien as a center of colonial trade. In selecting Darien he overlooked two factors,

namely, that Spain already claimed the territory, and that it was a most unhealthy location. Further, he overlooked the fact that English commercial interests would be hostile. The Act authorizing the establishment of the company was passed by the Scottish Parliament and touched with the sceptre by the King's commissioner. William was absent on the Continent at the time and on his return found the English aroused over this menace to their trade.

The shares had been sold in both countries altho' Scotland had the larger allotment. The success of the Company seemed assured when the English shareholders withdrew because of the hostile attitude of the Parliament. The English shares were speedily taken up in Scotland and the dream of vast colonial empire was in no way dimmed. The hostile attitude of William and the government not only alienated the English shareholders, but frightened the Dutch and German merchants who had been interested, and encouraged the Spaniards to take a bold attitude toward the colonists. The enterprise was doomed from the start. Without English sympathy and cooperation success was doubtful; against English hostility it was impossible. Dissensions, fevers, and Spaniards made a settlement impossible. The English colonies had orders to refuse all aid to the Scots and the enterprise came to a miserable end. Scotland

drained of her resources found herself in a worse plight economically than before.

The failure cannot be attributed to England and William alone. There were larger interests involving foreign policy which William had to consider. The Scots were largely to blame. Poor organization, lack of leadership, and lack of wisdom in selecting a site are the main causes of failure. Yet the fact remains that English hostility and jealousy played a part and William showed poor judgment and lack of tact in the manner in which he handled the situation. To the Scot, William became more odious, and the English became the object of deeper dislike and suspicion.¹

One result of the failure of the Darien Scheme was that it deepened Scottish dissatisfaction with a system which made the Scottish king the ruler of England. It made imperative some adjustment that would give greater security and justice to Scotland. The hostile feeling between the two peoples had

1. Brown, History of Scotland, vol. iii, pp. 21-30.

Craik, A Century of Scottish History, pp. 15-17.

Grahame, Social Life in Scotland, pp. 506-8.

MacKinnon, The Union of Scotland and England, chapter II.

grown to such an extent as to threaten war. Either some act of union had to be passed, or the nations would have to separate. The former could only come about in such a way as to give Scotland a rightful place in such a union; the latter plan, separation, England dared not entertain. She could not afford to have a warlike, independent nation at her elbow; and Scotland could be a troublesome neighbour she had found in the past. Union was not popular with the masses in Scotland, but the exigencies of the economic age were forcing the Scots to accept this plan as the only solution of their economic problems.

The death of William caused no grief in Scotland. Though in his later years he had attempted a policy of conciliation and had urged an incorporating union of the two countries as his dying wish, he had failed to win the Scots. Anne's accession was satisfactory to the majority of the Scottish people though none save the ardent Jacobites hailed it with any degree of enthusiasm. The latter hoped her accession would pave the way for the return of the exiled Stewarts and were content to bide their time. Though the large Presbyterian element in Scotland was pleased to welcome to the throne a member of Scotland's ancient line, they

were disquieted through fear of peril to the Presbyterian establishment. Anne's leaning toward the Tory party in Church and State was well known and such fear was not without foundation. Scotland had suffered in her dominant religious faith from earlier Stewart rulers who aimed to make Scotland an ecclesiastical dependency of England as well as a political and economic one. There was dour determination that this should not happen. Their fears were to be dissipated later, but they were, none the less, very real at her accession.¹

Anne proved herself to be an ardent advocate of union and in her first speech made to the English Parliament recommended that a union be consummated at the earliest possible moment. A Bill was passed ordaining that Commissioners of Union should be chosen from both countries. This was later done, and though the Commissioners made little headway, the task of bringing the two countries together had been inaugurated. It was evident from the meeting of these Commissioners that the English were in no way as eager for a union as the Queen was. Events of the immediate future materially altered this

1. Brown, History of Scotland, vol. iii, pp. 60, 61. MacKinnon, The Union, pp. 62, 63. Craik, A Century of Scottish History, p. 18.

attitude of indifference. On May 4, 1702, England declared war on France, and though none suspected it at the time, this war was to have an important bearing on the development of the negotiations for union. English statesmen, straining every nerve to win in the struggle with Louis XIV, saw the importance of Scotland as a factor, and recognized the grave danger which lay in the possibility of Scottish cooperation with the enemies of England. Only a union could obviate this danger and the English leaders became as eager for the plan as they had formerly been indifferent. The War of the Spanish Succession thus takes its place as one of the factors in bringing about the long projected union. Moreover, the English successes in the war enhanced the prestige of England and made it possible to urge the union on the Scots:

"Had her armies suffered a crushing defeat, it may indeed be doubted if the Union would have taken place when it did. Discredited in the eyes of the Scottish people, she could not have made her overtures with the same authority and prestige; and other interests and other cares would have diverted both nations from pursuing

a purpose which was common to both."¹

While the course of events was thus bringing the two nations together, the parties in Scotland were girding themselves for the struggle which was about to begin. The first phase of the final struggle came in the election of a Scottish Parliament. This was the first election since 1689, and it was to be the last.

Parliament met on May 6, 1703, and the stormy session began. Probably no Scottish Parliament had ever been as unified in devotion to the tradition of Scottish independence as was this, the last. There was no mind to lightly surrender ancient liberties for a song, and though far-seeing statesmen recognized that a union was the best solution of the nation's problems, they were grimly set on securing a continuance of the national life within such a union. The Royal Commissioner, the Duke of Queensberry, was the chief proponent of the union plan and the leader of the government forces. He was confronted with a task to stagger anyone save a man of courage and resource. However, he was able and adroit and knew how to profit through the dissensions of his opponents. Other leaders in the

1. Brown, History of Scotland, vol. III, p. 62.

Court party were Seafield, Mar, and Argyle.¹ The latter was the most generally respected as there was little but distrust of Stair and Mar.

In addition to the Court party there were two other groups, the Country party, and the Jacobites. The Duke of Hamilton was the leader of the former, though he is as frequently credited with leadership² of the Jacobites. This was due undoubtedly to his leanings in that direction, and also to the fact that these two parties worked together against the plan of union. Hamilton was very popular in the country where he was considered as the champion of the national cause. He was able and of good address, but lacked the courage to carry him through a struggle so intense. Though he commanded the support of most of the landed aristocracy, and the majority of the commons, he was not strong enough to weld together the various groups and make his following a strong political force. Before the end of the struggle the Court party had gained in

1. Archibald, first Duke of Argyle, was present at the opening of the session. He died in September, 1703, and was succeeded by his son John.

It is to the latter that the text refers. See MacKinnon, The Union, p. 97.

2. See Craik, A Century of Scottish History, p. 19.

strength and largely through the losses of the Countrymen. The Country party stood for Scottish rights, both civil and ecclesiastic, and through fear of English domination in Scottish ecclesiastical affairs many staunch Presbyterians aligned themselves with the Country party in the earlier sessions. The stalwart Scot in the Country party was Fletcher of Saltoun, a simple Scottish gentleman who was a republican in principle, and a consistently patriotic servant of his country.¹

The Jacobites were the outstandingly anti-union, anti-English party. They were, moreover, as strongly anti-Presbyterian, and anti-Revolution Settlement. This party looked toward the restoration of the legitimate line of Stewarts. The Marquess of Athole was the leader of the group and the chief polemical writer was Lockhart of Carnwath. Though far apart in practically everything else, the Countrymen and the Jacobites united in hostility to England.

The gage was thrown to the government party in the refusal to vote supply until provision had been made for the preservation of the liberties and

1. MacKinnon, The Union, pp. 91-97. Brown, History of Scotland, vol. iii, pp. 68, ff.

religion of the nation upon the death of the Queen. The government was defeated and a stormy forensic battle centered about the Bill known as the Act of Security. In 1701 the English Parliament, without consulting the Scottish Estates, had passed the Act of Settlement, devolving the Crown on the Electress Sophia of Hanover and her heirs. This disregard of Scottish interests in the succession angered the nation and the Act of Security was a challenge. This Act was to all intent and purpose a declaration of independence. It provided that twenty days after the death of the sovereign without issue, Parliament should name a successor who should be a Protestant and a descendant of the House of Stewart. The significant part of the Act was that the successor to be named must not be the same person designated by the English Parliament, unless under such conditions that secured to Scotland complete freedom of government, religion, and trade. It also provided for the mustering and training of all able-bodied men.¹ It was no idle threat and brought to England the realization that Scotland was not to be trifled with. Queensberry was helpless in the face of such determination as the proponents of the Bill evinced.

1. MacKinnon, The Union, pp.109-131. Brown, History of Scotland, vol. iii, pp. 71, 72.

He had no authority to give the royal sanction to the Act making it law, and Parliament had refused to vote supply, so the session ended in a deadlock.

When the new session opened bitterness had increased between the two nations. This was largely due to the English attitude toward the alleged Scottish Jacobite plot¹ to restore the Stewarts. Scotland resented what they considered English investigation of a purely Scottish affair. Queensberry became more odious than ever through his connection with the discovery of the plot, and his attempt to discredit his chief opponents, Athole and Hamilton. As a consequence he was impossible as Royal Commissioner and Tweeddale was selected for the post. He

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1. Simon Fraser, later Lord Lovat and Chief of Clan Fraser, reported the existence of a plot to restore the Stewarts. Athole was implicated. Fraser had a dubious reputation, but Queensberry, eager to discredit Athole and Hamilton, reported the plot to London and the House of Lords investigated. They reported that such a plot had been formed by Scots, who were not named, and the plot was due to the fact that the Scottish succession had not been settled. It was this investigation which angered the Scots. See Brown, History of Scotland, vol. III, pp. 72, 73.

was a mediocre man whose chief recommendation for the post was that he had few enemies. The session is marked by the appearance of a new party group under Tweeddale's leadership. This was called the New Party, but is better known by a name it acquired a little later, that of the Squadron Volante.

Tweeddale had orders to secure supply and settle the Scottish succession. This he could not do until the Act of Security was sanctioned. As this became evident from the determined opposition¹ of the Scottish nationalist groups, Godolphin¹ persuaded Anne to give in to the Scottish demand and sanction the Act. This was done, and the union was brought nearer by the legalizing of the Act. The Parliament then voted supply. Tweeddale had failed, however, to carry through the government program and it had only come through the surrender of the government in the matter of the Act of Security. This Act was the immediate cause of union and it is likely that Godolphin realized that its sanction would do more to bring matters to a head than anything else. If this was his motive for advising the Queen to sanction the Act, he was justified in the outcome.

1. The English Treasurer and leader of English ministry until displaced by Harley in 1708.

The Duke of Argyle was appointed Royal Commissioner for the third session which met in June, 1705. Again there had been an increase of bitterness between the two nations. The English had taken up the Scots' challenge as conveyed in the Act of Security. The Alien Bill was passed by both Houses enacting that unless the Crown of Scotland were settled in the same manner as decreed by English statute before Christmas, 1705, "all Scotsmen should be declared aliens, and all importation of Scotch cattle, sheep, coals, and linen would be prohibited." Reconciliation was offered in the same Bill when the "Queen was empowered to nominate Commissioners to discuss a treaty of union, on condition that the Scottish Parliament took the initiative". However, in spite of the olive branch extended in the Bill, it was highly objectionable to the Scottish people as it constituted a threat, and they felt it would be a humiliation to treat for union under such conditions. Another irritating incident which widened the gap between the two countries was the seizure of the Scottish vessel, the Annandale, in London, and the retaliating seizure of the English vessel, the

¹
Worcester, in Edinburgh. The English Captain Green and two officers were condemned as pirates and executed. The trial was a travesty of justice which could only have been possible in the inflamed condition of the Scottish temper. The English were justifiably incensed at the action of the Scottish Privy Council and the general attitude of the Scottish people.

There was rancour on both sides of the Border to inflame the political situation when Argyle took up the task of the third session. Under such strained conditions, he was without doubt the best man for the place. The government party had gained in strength and there was a clear majority for union. The ardent Presbyterians had gradually aligned themselves with the government party and in this session

1. The Annandale was a vessel owned by the Scottish African Company which still carried on a precarious existence since the failure of the Darien scheme. This vessel was seized in London on a pretext that it violated trading privileges. The Captain and crew of the Worcester were seized in reprisal by the Scots. The Scottish Privy Council did not dare go contrary to the peoples' will and the execution of the Captain and two officers followed. See MacKinnon, The Union, pp. 191-198.

the Squadrone, though posing as the champion of Scottish rights, voted with the government for union. Argyle could count on a majority for the union treaty, but the struggle was to center on the form that union should assume. Warm debate was brought on by Fletcher's proposed "limitations" for the safeguarding of the nation's liberties. This proved a source of great danger to the government program. The Jacobites were the "die-hards" who were opposed to all plan of union and they fought tenaciously. Mar introduced the government measure in a Bill called "An Act for a Treaty with England", and like the English measure it provided for the appointment of Commissioners. Hamilton disappointed his followers by joining in the passing of the measure. It was alleged that he hoped to become one of the Commissioners. If he had that hope, he was disappointed. The Scots had asked for the repeal of the Alien Act, which was later done, but it speaks well for their good judgment that they did not wait until its repeal to pass their own Act of Union. It did not seem a propitious time for the negotiations:

"Never, indeed, had the feeling between the two nations been more bitter than at the close of the year 1705, when the negotiations for union were about to

begin. In more unfavourable circumstances, it might well seem, a great policy had never been launched. Yet in the consciousness of both nations there lay behind their fiercest recriminations the uneasy conviction that union meant self-preservation, and that the hour had come¹ when the great issue must be determined."

That sense of self-preservation carried the Commissioners through some rough places in the negotiations, and eventually crowned their efforts with success.

The Commissioners met in April, 1706, and finished their work by July 22, 1706. Throughout the sessions, a spirit of earnestness prevailed, and an eagerness to bring their endeavour to a successful conclusion. The Scots were committed to the idea of a federal union which would preserve their Parliament. In the face of the adamant attitude of the English representatives, the Scots were forced to accept the idea of an incorporating union, though in so doing they knew they would bring the wrath of Scotland upon their heads. They demanded, and secured, absolute freedom in trade, a condition

1. Brown, History of Scotland, vol. iii, p. 81.

for which Scotland had contended since the union of the crowns. Taxation proved a difficult problem. The Scots finally agreed to uniformity of taxation and trade regulation, with certain commodities exempted in a period for Scotland, as salt and malt. The English showed a generous spirit in regard to tax, though the malt exemption was to cause ill-feeling later. In return for assuming a share of England's debts, and also as an indemnity for Scottish commercial losses incurred through the antagonism of English trading companies, Scotland was to receive a lump sum known as the Equivalent. This was reasonable and did much to satisfy the Scots as to English good faith. The sum was fixed at £ 398,085.10s. The Equivalent was the object of bitter scorn and caustic comment, especially among the opponents of the Union Treaty in Scotland. A sore point with the Scots was their failure to secure a larger group of representatives in the Parliament of the United Kingdom, as England would concede them as a maximum but forty-five seats in the House of Commons, and sixteen in the House of Lords. Scotland retained her own legal system, and her royal burghs were guaranteed their peculiar privileges. As an outward symbol of the incorporation, the arms of the two nations were joined.

Such were the chief points in the Treaty of Union as drawn by the Commissioners, and the Scots representatives returned to render an account of their stewardship to their countrymen.

The Scottish Parliament was to have the privilege of accepting or rejecting the Treaty before the English Parliament took action. The final session of the last Scottish Parliament met on October 3, 1706. Queensberry was Royal Commissioner with Mar and Seafield acting as his principal aids. Fletcher of Saltoun and Lord Belhaven were the spokesmen for the Countrymen, and Hamilton and Athole shared the leadership of the Jacobite party. Countrymen and Jacobites united in a determined opposition to the Treaty. The Court party had its following of Whigs supporting the government program, while the small but compact Squadrone held the balance of power. As the Parliament took up its work the country seethed with anger. The satisfaction with which the news of Scotland's victory in the matter of free-trade was received soon turned to anger when the country learned that the price of free-trade was an incorporating union. The Scots saw the extinction of their nationality in this type of union, and considered that they were betrayed. Moreover, the majority devoted to the Presbyterian

establishment saw a menace to their Church in incorporation. Many ministers shared this fear and they were an influential group. The government leaders hastened to reassure the Presbyterians by advising them that the Queen would sanction any Act which might be passed to safeguard the Presbyterian establishment. Carstares, the late King William's faithful advisor, was a useful instrument in allaying the fears of the ministers, and ratification of the Treaty was practically assured when this obstacle was removed. An Act of Security was then passed, firmly establishing and safeguarding the Scottish Church and this Act became a part of the Treaty. A few extremists like the Cameronians still objected to a union with a nation which rejected the Covenant, but the majority of the Presbyterians were satisfied with the guarantees of this Act which secured to them their religious independence.

The great forensic struggle centered on the article providing for the union, and that one which dealt with Scotland's representation in the United Parliament. The government forces won and the Act providing for the Treaty was sanctioned January 16, 1707, after one of the stormiest sessions in Scottish history. The Jacobites were resourceful and fought courageously with the Country party to

defeat the Treaty. Petitions poured in to the Parliament, protesting against the Union, and it was manifest that the nation at large was strongly opposed to the Treaty as proposed. Armed rebellion was threatened from many quarters, and such incongruous elements as Cameronians and Jacobites were found uniting to oppose the measure. Edinburgh and other cities were filled with mobs and tumult, but the government forces moved steadily on to the completion of their task. They were content to let posterity judge the result of their endeavours. In this struggle Hamilton proved his usual vacillating self, and at the critical juncture was found wanting. Perfeverid oratory and impassioned appeal alike were fruitless, and victory went to those who, assured of the safety of their Church, were willing to sacrifice the ancient trappings of independence for a junior partnership in a new State which would give them a share in the world's trade and commerce. Scotland ratified the Treaty of Union and their action was seconded shortly after by the English Parliament. The United Kingdom of Great Britain emerged among the world states, and Scotland closed the door on a long and colorful period of her history. 'The end of ane auld sang', said Seafieid when the last Scottish Parliament passed into history. His apparent cynicism covered up a pang, one feels,

for he was a Scot and no Scot could view the passing of this phase of his country's history without real regret. 'Ane auld sang', but the refrain was to¹ echo in Scottish hearts for years to come.

The struggle ended in the legal union of the two countries, but it is significant that it did not draw them perceptibly nearer in spirit. The Scots were convinced that their nation had been sold and that the price paid was very small. This feeling was deepened in the years immediately following the Union, since no great good came to the country under the new system. That Scottish nobles sold their country for English gold is still commonly believed, largely on the charges of the Jacobite Lockhart, who was avowedly partisan and biassed. These charges do not stand the test of critical scrutiny, yet they have nevertheless been accepted as true by the average reader.²

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1. For the union period see: MacKinnon, The Union. Brown, History of Scotland, vol. iii. Craik, A Century of Scottish History. Lang, History of Scotland, vol ix. Rait, Scotland. Terry, A History of Scotland.
 2. See discussion of these charges in MacKinnon, The Union, pp. 343-354.

In a large measure the Act of Union marks the beginning of the period of decline for the Jacobite party. It played a striking part in the next fifty years, but it was a waning power. It had (identified) itself so thoroughly as anti-unionist that its fortunes of necessity were determined by the Scottish attitude toward the Union. Consequently, in the years following the Union there was an accession of strength to this party. The dissatisfaction with the Treaty was so general that Jacobitism was able to capitalize on the discontent. Yet the Jacobites had but a minority of the people upon whom they could rely. The majority were staunch Presbyterians and though their hearts might thrill at the thought of a Stewart on the throne of an independent Scottish Kingdom, sober reason could not tolerate a menace to their religion. "While a majority of the people, no doubt would have voted for repeal of the Union, the majority would have declared against a Restoration." ¹ This was proven in the '15, and more strikingly in the '45. As late as the '45 there were many Scots who supported the Hanoverian succession who were not wholly reconciled to the Union even then. The Hanoverians were not popular in Scotland but they were protestant. "If as has been

1. Lang, A., History of Scotland, vol. iv, p. 255.

said, the Hanoverian succession was the greatest miracle in our history, it reveals the extent of the nation's antipathy to its alternative.¹"

Scottish irritation grew to alarming proportions due to treatment which apparently was a continuance of the English policy followed prior to the Union. The Equivalent was delayed and the Scots felt that the English were attempting to evade their obligations. English customs officers stationed in Scotland to enforce the new duties under the Treaty proved a source of difficulty. English trade suffered in the fact that sharp traders, both English and Scots, used the Scottish privilege of lower duties to make Scottish ports the entry for dutiable goods, whence they were sent to England under the free-trade agreement to undersell goods entered at English ports. The seizure of some Scottish cargoes in England as being dishonestly entered, brought protests from Scotland that the Treaty had been violated. With public opinion so inflamed the Jacobite invasion of 1708 might well have succeeded, but for the fortunate circumstance that the French fleet failed to arrive in the Forth in time. In this crisis the Presbyterian Church showed its loyalty to the government and its faith in the Union

1. Terry, History of Scotland, p. 533.

guarantees of its liberties. Their attitude in this crisis was indicative of the position they would take in the future.

Another source of irritation was the attitude of the United Parliament. Scotland's representatives were in too great a minority to be able to influence legislation. An Act which made the English law of treason the law for the whole realm was passed over Scottish protests. The Scots considered this a violation of the Union Treaty, which guaranteed to Scotland its own system of law. An Act restoring Patronage in the Presbyterian Church was considered a violation of the Act of Security, which had guaranteed the liberties of that Church. There were laws passed hurtful to Scottish trade, and the evidence seemed conclusive that the attitude of English statesmen toward Scotland was unchanged despite the Union. Although the Tories came to power in 1710 largely through the cooperation of the Scottish members they proved to be as unfriendly as the Whigs. Their attitude toward the Scottish Church was almost hostile. The Patronage Act was passed under the Tory ministry, and in other ways they gave evidence of a desire to irritate the Pres-¹byterians. The attempt to levy a Malt Tax proved

1. For the Greenshields case see Brown, History of Scotland, vol. iii, pp. 116-118.

to be the most irritating of the Acts of the Government and united all Scotland in opposition. It led to the attempt to repeal the Treaty of Union in 1713. The motion to introduce the repealing measure was attempted in the House of Lords and the leaders were Argyle, Seafieid, and Mar, who had fought so staunchly to secure the Treaty in 1707. The attempt was lost by a narrow margin and it was evident from the strength of the resentment shown how strong a weapon had been placed in the hands of the Jacobites through the irritations and vexations of six years¹ of Union. It was clear that Scotland was ready for a return to her former independence, and the Jacobites were ready to capitalize this feeling in a Restoration. The death of Queen Anne found their leaders vacillating and incapable, and Jacobitism's golden opportunity passed. The accession of George I turned this party to Scotland as a field for future activity, and while it had many followers in England, from this time on its strength was to be found north of the Tweed.

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1. Craik, A Century of Scottish History, pp. 34-51.
Brown, History of Scotland, vol. iii, pp. 102-122. Lecky, England in the Eighteenth Century, vol. i, pp. 163-164. Ibid., vol. ii, p. 308.

In spite of the great unrest in Scotland and the hatred of the Union, the nation as a whole accepted the Hanoverian accession without demur. There was never any great enthusiasm for the Hanoverians, but it is equally true that many who toasted the 'King o'er the water' would have trembled for their religious liberties if that King had returned. The Jacobites launched the rebellion of 1715 at a time when the Scottish people were most restive under the Union. Under a more capable and efficient leader than the Earl of Mar, something less farcical might have resulted, but vacillation and lack of leadership led to failure and the subsequent forfeitures and executions. Again the Presbyterian ministers proved their loyalty to the Government and helped to hold the bulk of the people faithful and steady.

There was no jubilation in Scotland at the overthrow of the Jacobites. Argyle, whose prompt support of the Government was a great factor in preserving it, received such scurvy treatment in return as to anger his large following in Scotland. There were few great families that were not involved in the rebellion through relatives, and there was much discontent when Scots prisoners were taken to England for trial. The Government felt, with some

justice, that the Scottish courts would be too lenient, but this action was resented keenly in Scotland. The appointment of a majority of Englishmen on the Commission to deal with the forfeited Estates was also taken as an affront to Scotland. "What the Government failed to see was that it was fighting not against Jacobite sympathies but against resentment due to English interference in Scottish affairs."¹ The Scots were not all Jacobites as many Englishmen seemed to think, but they were insist-²ently nationalistic in feeling.

In the years between 1715 and 1745 two striking incidents occurred which showed the national temper in its opposition to measures which the Government took to force its will upon the stubborn Scots. The first was brought about by Walpole's attempt to impose another Malt Tax. In 1713 the Scots had resisted such an attempt as a violation of the Treaty of Union, and in 1725 they were no more inclined to accept it. Serious opposition developed, particularly in Glasgow, where a clash between the populace and soldiery resulted in bloodshed. General Wade was forced to enter the town with a large body of troops before order was re-

1. Brown, History of Scotland, vol. iii, p. 155.

2. For Jacobitism, see Terry, C. S., The Jacobites and the Union.

stored. The town officials were arrested but the Government found it expedient to drop action against them due to the inflamed state of the country.

Though the Government had its way in the matter of the tax, Scotland had again demonstrated her spirit of independence. The Scottish Squadrone had identified itself with the nationalistic feeling and as a result lost its place of power in the Government. The Argathelian party, under the Duke of Argyle, succeeded to the premier place in Scottish political life. This party co-operated with Walpole until the uproar caused by the Porteous Mob in 1736.

This famous incident grew out of the smuggling activities so rife in Scotland. Scots considered it almost a patriotic duty to evade the unpopular revenue duties, and smugglers were given every countenance. The execution of Wilson, a¹ smuggler who had assaulted and robbed a customs official, led to serious disorder. The Edinburgh mob grew riotous at the execution, and Captain Porteous, commander of the Town Guard, ordered his soldiers to fire and several innocent bystanders were killed. Porteous was tried and condemned to death but was reprieved by Queen Caroline, who was

1. Sir Walter Scott has immortalized this incident in his Heart of Midlothian.

acting as regent in the absence of the King. The citizenry of Edinburgh was infuriated and the unfortunate Porteous was taken from the Tolbooth and summarily hanged by a group of citizens who were never identified. The orderly manner in which this group worked gave rise to the suspicion that there was laxity on the part of the local authorities. The Queen was angered because her authority had been flouted, and the Government took it as further proof of the rebelliousness of the Scots. The result was a Bill passed in the House of Lords which offended the already over-wrought Scots. The town officials were to be degraded from office, the Town Guard was to be abolished, and the Netherbow Port was to be pulled down. This Bill was strenuously opposed by all the Scottish members, even those who were members of the Government. The Bill was passed through the House of Commons only after its objectionable features had been removed. Argyle's opposition to this punitive Bill marks the beginning of his break with Walpole. The Government lost prestige in the affair, and it increased the irritation between the two countries.¹

1. For Porteous Mob, see: Carlyle, Alexander, Autobiography. Brown, History of Scotland, vol. iii. Craik, A Century of Scottish History. Terry, History of Scotland.

In 1742 Argyle resigned from the Government and so closed a distinguished career. In spite of the criticism that he had subordinated Scottish interests to those of England, the fact remains that he was a patriotic Scot who desired his country's advancement and recognized it could be best secured through the development of a real union with England. He belonged to that group of Scots, so well represented by Duncan Forbes of Culloden, who wished to preserve the Scottish individuality within a close union. Argyle's death followed closely on his resignation, and three years later the Jacobite party made its last vigorous bid for a Restoration. This was in the rebellion of 1745.

There is a great appeal in the bold bid for a throne made by Prince Charles Edward Stewart in 1745-6. The rebellion has been romanticized and a wealth of sentimental memory has grown up about the figure of the gallant Prince. There are few Scots today who do not own to a sympathy for the lost cause, though their ancestors may have been vigorous opponents of the movement. Something of the national life and tradition has been identified with the rising and time has woven a halo about the head of the Prince which cold fact, alas, dissipates. The rising found its support among the Jacobite Clans

and nobility of the North. South of the Forth there was little support and much of active hostility.

The early successes of the Prince's army brought no great accessions to his forces and in England the Jacobites were apathetic. The country was beginning to feel safe under the Hanoverians and even Scottish discontent and dislike of England saw no remedy in a Stewart King who was under the domination of Rome. The early successes which had flushed the Scottish Jacobites with high hopes were to be of no avail in the face of divided councils, petty intrigues, and jealousies. The retreat from Derby with a disappointed Prince sulking and depressed was an augury of the end. The victory at Falkirk was a flash in the pan, and dreary Culloden and the scattered Clans marked the end of Stewart hopes. Intrigues and plots were to continue until the Prince's death in 1788, but as a party the Jacobites were to pass from the political stage. The glory of the rebellion belongs to Scotland, and she bore as well the blame and discredit of the attempt. Yet from the rebellion the Scots date a new impulse in their national development.¹

1. Terry, C. S., The Forty-Five. Craik, A Century of Scottish History. Brown, History of Scotland, vol. iii. Lang, History of Scotland, vol. ix.

From the standpoint of politics, the period which followed the rising was barren of interest. The center of attention was in England where Scots, as Dundas and Bute, played important roles, but where Scotland as a nation had little concern. It was in this era that Scotland set to work to build in the field of secular activities as vigorously as in the past she had built in the ecclesiastical realm. Intercourse with England grew and the Union became an actuality as the century wore on. Yet, one finds that even with the development of intercourse and a growing appreciation of the value of co-operation, there was no lessening of the nationalism of the Scot.

"By the time the century had run little more than half its course, the barriers between the nations had been in a great measure obliterated. The two streams were to run in the same course. But it did not follow that the two currents should not preserve their identity so far as to be distinguished even altho'¹ they flowed within the same channel."

Without doubt Jacobitism and its memories helped to preserve Scottish individualism and the haunting

1. Craik, A Century of Scottish History, p. 451.

strains of the Jacobite ballads have become in a measure the preservatives of Scottish nationalistic feeling. Out of the Forty-five then, came a renaissance of Scottish national life within the Union; a national life no longer centering about attempts to break the Union and restore independence, but directed into the fields of economic endeavour and intellectual achievement. The names of Hume, Adam Smith, Reid, and Robertson are but a few of the galaxy that¹ made Scotland's name a glory in the world.

Content within a Union which gave to them a share in the Empire's developing wealth, there was, nevertheless, in this half-century several recurrences of the antagonism between the nations. The first occurred when Parliament in 1757 passed the Militia Bill which established a militia in England. Scotland demanded the same privilege, but was refused, and all the old arguments were raked up to prove that England was still 'the auld enemy'.² The second outburst came from the southern side of Tweed, when Bute came to power under George III. He became the target for English prejudice and dislike.

1. Brown, History of Scotland, vol. iii, pp. 295-299.

2. Ramsay, Scotland and Scotsmen, vol. i, pp. 333-5.

Brown, History of Scotland, vol. iii, pp. 271, 272.

Wilkes and his scurrilous sheet did not stop at Bute but led in a mad attack on all Scots, and insults were heaped upon a nation whose chief faults seemed to be that of poverty, and an ability to get on in the world. Naturally, these insults went deep and helped to keep alive a spirit of bitterness that might well have been permitted to die out through a more gracious attitude on the part of the dominant partners.¹ The ill-feeling was deep-rooted on both sides of the Border, and expediency alone could have brought the two nations together.

During the century great strides were made in the development of the agricultural and economic life. The abolition of the heritable jurisdictions following the Forty-five destroyed the last vestiges of feudalism, and the Highlands were opened to the civilizing influences from the South. Drainage, crop rotation, and better methods of cultivation gave a new agricultural life. Industry and commerce shared in the development which came from the impulse to build the nation upon sound economic foundations.² Scots travelled south to England to share in the economic and political life of their partner,

1. Lecky, History of England in the Eighteenth Century, vol. iii, pp. 217, ff.

2. Craik, A Century of Scottish History, pp. 319, ff.

and the 'Scottish invasion', as it has been called, while evoking some sneers and insults, nevertheless, served to put the Union on a more solid foundation.

In this sketch of political life in Scotland it has not been possible to do more than touch the extreme high points of the century. The outstanding political event was the Union. The century is largely taken up with the adjustments necessary to achieve a harmonious and co-operative partnership. This was not accomplished without much friction and turmoil. Years of misunderstanding, prejudice, and hatred cannot be legislated out of existence. Time is the great healer, and it is not to be wondered at that there were periodic outbreaks of rancour and jealousy. This was particularly true during the years of Jacobite plottings and fomentation. The Jacobites found their best opportunities for success in keeping Scotland dissatisfied with the Union and so furnishing material for revolt and rebellion. The failure of English statesmen to appreciate and understand Scottish character added to the difficulties. Had there been a Pitt, earlier in the century, to recognize the value of Highland loyalty and¹ courage, possibly the pacification of the Highlands

1. Lecky, A History of England in the Eighteenth Century, vol. iii, p. 231.

might have proceeded more rapidly. The fact remains that political developments throughout the century had a tendency to stir up old enmities and irritations and economic exigency alone kept Scotland in the Union. The nineteenth century opened with many Scots still bitterly opposed to the Union on national and sentimental grounds. It is particularly significant for this study, to note the deep-seated hostility between the countries, since John Wesley first entered Scotland at the turn of the half-century, when feeling was high and English institutions and ideas were viewed with coldness and suspicion. No study of Wesley and his mission to Scotland can ignore the political background and its implications. It is second in importance only to the religious conditions and development which are to be considered in the chapter which follows.

PART II

SCOTLAND IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

CHAPTER II

RELIGIOUS CONDITIONS AND DEVELOPMENT

Religion has had a place of preeminence in Scotland from the Reformation on. It has been said with truth that, "the influence of the past history of Scotland is more easily traced in ecclesiastical questions than in political and social problems".¹ This was especially true of the period from the Reformation to the Revolution Settlement, when religion occupied the center of the Scottish stage. A unique feature of the ecclesiastical development in Scotland was the part played by the people: "the Protestantism of Scotland was the creation of the commons, as in turn the commons may be said to have been created by Protestantism".² This fact helps to account for the complete identification of religion with the national life. Not even the new industrial and commercial impulses of the eighteenth century

1. Rait, R. S., Scotland, p. 311.

2. Froude, J. A., Short Studies on Great Subjects, vol. i, p. 162.

could relegate religion in Scotland to such a position of relative unimportance as one finds in England in this century. It is true that there was a decided change in Scottish life in this century, and ecclesiastical questions no longer monopolized the nation's attention as in the previous century. Yet even in this period of awakening commercial life¹ the religious proclivities of the Scot are manifest. Religion had entered deep into the character and made piety the mark of the typical Scot.

The effect of environment undoubtedly helped to mould the stern character of Scottish piety. The hard, unceasing struggle for existence in the northern land made for a stubborn persistence and dourness that passed into the religious thinking of the people:

"It will be readily understood that there must be a great difference between, say, the fibre of the Scots intellect, nourished upon the keen East wind, and engaged upon a perpetual contest with a cold soil, and that of a Southern people under a soft sky, and gathering their harvests without trouble. The Scot has had a hard

1. Brown, History of Scotland, vol. iii, p. 1.

fight to wrest a living from reluctant nature, and this struggle has passed into his habits of thought. He will insist upon proof for every statement; he will grant nothing to any opponent; he will follow out argument to its last extreme, and will despise compromise with all his¹ heart."

The Scot earned the name of being contentious and argumentative, and in religious matters this was true; for, from the highest to the lowest, all felt competent to discuss and pass judgment on matters in dispute. Bishop Burnet, who was one of a commission sent in 1670 to argue with the Scots on the importance of conformity, says:

"We were indeed amazed to see a poor commonalty, so capable of arguing upon points of government, and on the bounds to be set to the power of Princes in the matter of religion. Upon all these topics they had texts of Scripture at hand, and were ready with their answers to anything that was said to them. This measure of

1. Watson, Scotland in the Eighteenth Century, p. 23.

knowledge was spread even among the mean-
est of them, their cottagers and servants!"¹

There was a strong intellectual quality in Scottish religious character, and the devotional aspect of their religious life was undoubtedly overshadowed by it. Though accused of bigotry and intolerance, the Scot of the eighteenth century showed a more catholic spirit than was prevalent in many other countries. This was particularly true as the liberalizing influence of moderatism pervaded the Kirk. This in no way affected the loyalty of the Scots to Presbyterianism, which was intensified in this century, but their sense of satisfaction with their own Church no longer blinded them to an appreciation² of the worth in others.

The effect of the profound religious convictions, developed in the religious struggles, was seen in the superior moral tone of Scotland as compared to England. The Scots were less polished and

1. Henderson, Religion in Scotland, p. 20.

2. See Cunningham, Church History of Scotland, vol. ii, pp. 420-422. Graham, Social Life in Scotland in the Eighteenth Century, vol. ii, pp. 336, 343, 359. Ross, History of Congregational Independency in Scotland, pp. 112, 208.

refined in speech than their southern neighbours, but in morals they easily surpassed them. There was less of vice in the northern land, and cities like Glasgow and Edinburgh, could boast of comparative freedom from crime.¹ To quote from an English historian:

"The general standard of external decorum was, indeed, so far higher than in England, that it was said that a blind man travelling southwards would know when he passed the frontier by the increasing number of blasphemies he heard. If there was a somewhat unusual amount of hypocrisy and censoriousness, no one who reads the letters of the time will question that there was also a very large amount of simple and unostentatious piety, while order, industry, and truthfulness were² admirably displayed."

Scotland was by no means an ideal country from the standpoint of morality, but judged in comparison

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1. Graham, Social Life in Scotland, vol. ii, pp. 108, 500, 501.
 2. Lecky, History of England in the Eighteenth Century, vol. ii, pp. 341, 342.

with other countries of that day it had a high level; and this was due to the influence of Scottish religion. No purely doctrinal, argumentative faith could so effect the life of a nation, and there is ample evidence that there was vital life beneath the disputatious, argumentative surface of Scottish religion.

The Revolution Settlement closed a stirring period in Scottish religious history. It was a period when in Scotland alone religious issues were of paramount importance:

"The seventeenth century showed over Western Europe, a marked change with reference to material and religious concerns. In England secular interests became of greater moment than concern for the Church and religion. Holland, became a prosperous nation of traders, and in France during the latter part of that century Louis XIV made the Church his cat's-paw for personal aggrandisement, while in Germany the secularizing process that began about the middle of the century continued with increased momentum to the end of the century and beyond. In Scotland alone there was

heard with little cessation, during the seventeenth century the reverberating sound of arms in a deadly struggle for the crown rights of the Redeemer."¹

The Scots' struggle with Charles I was wholly religious in origin and in their armed defiance of the Stewart despotism they taught the English how to resist absolutism. The Scottish struggle for ecclesiastical freedom had its effect upon the English parliamentary contest. In both cases the issue was successfully brought to a conclusion in the Glorious Revolution of 1689.

The history of the Scottish Church in the seventeenth century falls into two periods, namely from 1600 to 1637 and from 1637 to 1688. In the first period the Stewarts sought to subordinate the Church to the royal power, and in the second the Scots unite in the great Covenanting movement to free the Church from royal authority. To secure royal supremacy the Stewarts sought to establish Episcopacy and curtail the powers of the General Assembly. The Episcopalianizing of the Scottish Church went on through the reigns of James I and Charles I, though the program met increasing

1. MacLean, Aspects of Scottish Church History, p. 37.

resistance. In 1638 Scotland rose as one man in the Covenanting Movement. The National Covenant became the rallying standard of the Kirk. The first challenge to Stewart despotism was issued by the General Assembly of 1638. It inaugurated the Bishops' Wars in which the Scots successfully maintained their challenge. "Never had Scotland been so unified in all its history as it was in this period when the National Covenant was being signed."¹ This unanimity was now dissipated and factions arose to disrupt the Scottish Church. Engagers, Non-Engagers, Resolutioners, and Remonstrants tell a story of strife and dissension. Under Cromwell sectarianism was encouraged, and his rule was little relished by the Scots, who saw their General Assembly treated in as arbitrary a fashion as ever Stewart King had accorded it. The Restoration was welcomed, for the Scots had reason to expect good treatment from a covenanted King in whose cause they had suffered. Their hopes were shattered, for Charles I followed the program of his father and grandfather and the Scottish Kirk was again saddled with Episcopacy. The repressive measures of this reign gave to Scotland a further implantment of fervour for its own form of church government. Dourness and fanaticism developed, but

1. Professor Watt, Lecture, New College, 1929.

they were not without the contrasting glories of heroism and sacrifice. Scottish religious thought was coloured for years to come by this period of repression which culminated in the extreme measures of the years 1685 to 1688 under James I, known as the "Killing-time". It is not to be wondered at that Scotland welcomed the accession of William and ¹Mary.

William was willing to establish Presbyterianism since the majority of the nation seemed to desire it. He was unwilling to abolish patronage which the Scots insisted upon, and he hoped to retain the Episcopalian ministers in their livings. The latter were strong in Aberdeenshire and the North-east, and William knew that persecution of these curates would offend his English subjects. The first General Assembly showed moderation but its commissions appointed to survey the country and purge it of evils were not so lenient. Many Episcopalians were ejected from their livings and much hardship resulted. These curates had a hold on their people and their Presbyterian successors did not find cordial welcomes. The curates were devoted to the House of Stewart and pinned their faith to a

1. Cunningham, Church History of Scotland, vol. ii, chapters xvii to xx.

restoration which never was realized. Yet aside from their difference as to political views, and their quarrel as to church polity, there was little to divide these two groups in the years immediately following the Revolution. Forms of service and ritual were very close and the broadly tolerant had¹ hopes of bringing the two groups together. Without doubt William entertained such a hope. This was not realized and as time went on the two groups grew farther apart. Prelacy was abhorred by the Presbyterians and the memory of the years of persecution added to that rancour. The fear of Episcopalian influence was alive in the Scottish Kirk for years² after it had ceased to be a menace.

There had always been a group of Moderates within the Scottish Church even in the days when zeal and enthusiasm were at their zenith. Carstares, William's loyal advisor, was of this group. As the impulses of the new century were felt, and as the days of persecution receded, this group grew in

1. In the seventeenth century Archbishop Leighton attempted to form a union of the Episcopalian and Presbyterian Churches but his proposal was coldly received by the Presbyterian ministers.

Cunningham, vol ii, p. 106.

2. See the Greenshields case, Cunningham, pp. 222-224.

numbers and strength. The Moderates dominated the Church throughout most of the century, but their greatest strength was manifested under the leadership of William Robertson when what was known as the new Moderateism developed. This group travelled the middle road and sought to curb prejudice and intolerance. Their interests were wider than the Church and explored all fields of intellectual endeavour. Undoubtedly their preaching bordered on cold morality, and their lack of evangelical fire brought much criticism. They helped to free the Kirk from the chains of intolerance and helped to align it with the broader human interests and developments of the age. The Moderates reached the peak of their power in the years following the Relief Secession, but they were finally submerged by the rising tide of evangelicalism with which the nineteenth century¹ opened.

Opposed to the Moderates was the Evangelicals, known as the Popular party. This party had the support of the masses of the people. Within this party

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1. Brown, History of Scotland, vol. III, pp. 290-295.
 Graham, Social Life in Scotland, pp. 353, 362-365.
 Craik, A Century of Scottish History, pp. 252-254.
 Watson, The Scot in the Eighteenth Century, pp. 507-8, 510-512.

were varying degrees of fervour. The leaders united warmth of religious temperament with intellectual ability and were not wild enthusiasts in any sense of the word. The Erskines who led in the Secession movement, Dr. Alexander Webster, the jovial Edinburgh divine, and Dr. John Erskine of Greyfriars were representative of the varied type of leadership within this party. The Evangelicals opposed patronage as the Moderates upheld it. Whitefield found many friends among the Evangelicals, and Wesley, though not so warmly welcomed, found them for the most part cordial. There was a catholic spirit in this party as well as among the Moderates. Whitefield and Wesley were priests of a prelatic church; yet they were welcomed into Scottish pulpits when their own Church closed its doors upon them. The great contribution of the Evangelicals was to keep religion warm and glowing in a century filled with the deadening deistic influences. In many respects the Moderates and Evangelicals acted as counter-balances, one to the other, and served to give Scotland a well rounded religious life;--intellectually alive to modern developments, yet glowing warmly toward God.¹

1. Cunningham, Church History of Scotland, p. 246.

Craik, A Century of Scottish History, p. 247.

The Scot earned the reputation of being disputatious and argumentative in religious matters. Yet Scots were more inclined to contention on matters of church polity than on doctrinal questions. Their theology was based on the Calvinistic doctrines and the Westminster Confession is their basic creed. In no other great national church was there so great a uniformity on doctrine as in the Scottish Kirk. The Church of England sheltered wide varieties of religious belief within her fold, but the Scottish Kirk displayed almost complete doctrinal agreement. The Scot could dispute vigorously on doctrinal matters with those who held different tenets than those of Calvin, but within the Presbyterian fold when contention arose it was over matters of church government as a rule.

"The peculiarities of dissent in Scotland is that it rarely arises from doctrinal or speculative disputes. In regard to such matters there was seldom any difference of opinion, so far as the formularies of the different bodies were concerned. The prevailing theological views were Calvinistic . . .¹"

There were some doctrinal disturbances early in the

1. Craik, A Century of Scottish History, p. 315.

century. The Evangelicals who looked with reverence to the past were exceedingly jealous for the preservation of the faith as delivered. Arminianism was especially feared and when it was reported that Professor Simson of Glasgow University was teaching this pernicious doctrine it led to a heresy trial which lasted from 1714-1717. Simson escaped with a censure, only to be tried in 1726 on the charge of teaching Arianism. He was forbidden to teach but was not deposed. The Evangelicals felt that in these trials the Moderates protected Simson from¹ just penalties.

During the trial of Professor Simson, the Presbytery of Auchterarder seeking to root out Arminianism, formulated a series of doctrinal statements which it required probationers to sign. One article of this faith stated: "I believe that it is not sound and orthodox to teach that we must forsake sin in order to our coming to Christ, and instating us in covenant with God." The Assembly of 1717 condemned this as Antinomian and unsound. The Presbytery was cited to appear before the Assembly and gave a satisfactory explanation, but the Assembly prohibited presbyterys¹ from requiring adherence to

1. Cunningham, Church History of Scotland, pp. 246-249.

any creed save that denominated by the Assembly.
 This formulary of the Auchterarder Presbytery is
 known as the "Auchterarder Creed". It led to fur-
 ther doctrinal disagreement as from it developed the¹
 Marrow Controversy.

In the General Assembly which condemned the
 Auchterarder Creed, sat the minister from Ettrick,
 Mr. Thomas Boston.² He had diligently studied a
 theological treatise, The Marrow of Modern Divinity³
 which represented the doctrinal position of some of
 the Evangelicals. The book was republished and had
 a wide circulation. The General Assembly of 1720
 condemned it as Antinomian and the ministers who
 sponsored it were publicly rebuked by the General
 Assembly of 1722.⁴ These ministers, called the
 Marrow men, had the support and approval of the
 majority of the people, but not all of the Evangel-
 ical clergy were in sympathy with their position.

1. Cunningham, Church History of Scotland, pp. 246-
 249.

2. Author of The Four-fold State.

3. This work has been accredited to an Englishman,
 Edward Fisher, 1646. See Cunningham, p. 249.
 Brown, History of Scotland, vol. iii, p. 191.

4. The Marrow doctrine that "holiness was not neces-
 sary to salvation", was the chief object of attack.

Wodrow, the historian, was an Evangelical, but he considered the Marrow doctrine as dangerous. It is significant that when the first Secession came, its¹ leaders were of the Marrow group.

These doctrinal disputes are indicative of the thinking in the two parties within the Church. The Moderates in their condemnation of the Marrow doctrine set themselves up as champions of orthodoxy, yet they were in all other respects the latitudinarian party of the Church and their tendency was to drift from the evangelical traditions of the past. They were content to accept without debate the theological concepts of the Westminster Creed, and discouraged attempts to warm the coldness of the bare concept with evangelical fire and enthusiasm. The Moderates through their numbers could control the policies of the Church, but the Evangelicals gave spiritual tone to the masses, and the Secessions helped to keep the spiritual temperature of the nation relatively high. It was these factors that made eighteenth century Scotland so far superior to England in its religious life and made Wesley's mission to Scotland less fruitful of result than in the South.

1. For Marrow controversy see, Cunningham, Brown, Craik.

The Secessions from the Established Church came not from doctrinal differences, but on points of ecclesiastical order. Patronage, restored by Parliament in 1712, was the divisive point. In this controversy the Evangelicals supported the right of popular election while the Moderates upheld patronage as restored by the Act of 1712.

"In the sixteenth century, the battle of Protestantism and Popery was fought and won; in the seventeenth century, the struggle lay between Presbytery and Prelacy; in the eighteenth century, patronage and popular rights came into collision, and the contest has been obstinately maintained till the present day."¹

The restoration of patronage in 1712 was denounced by the Church as a violation of the Union Treaty. Yet for twenty years there was little disposition on the part of patrons to use their power. The current of popular feeling was so strongly against the system as to deter those who otherwise might have used their power under the law. By 1730 a tendency to ignore the congregations in presentations to parishes became marked. The older Moderates were not

1. Cunningham, p. 278.

in favour of patronage but the younger leaders of the party aligned themselves with the supporters of patronage as they felt that it was the side of decorum and order, and an effective check to the Evangelicals and their enthusiasm. There was an increasing number of conflicts between the Assembly and various Presbyteries. The Assembly authorized presentations where Presbyteries could not conscientiously induct the presentee. Such inductions were conducted by committees of the Assembly with the assistance of whatever members of the Presbytery could be secured. The matter came to a head in 1730 when a number of such intrusions were brought to the attention of the Assembly. The General Assembly in 1732 passed an Act which definitely proclaimed the attitude of the majority. It provided that if the patron failed to present a candidate within six months, the right to call a minister was to lie with the heritors and elders. In the event that the congregation disapproved, the Presbytery was to decide the issue. There were many who were dissatisfied with this Act and their spokesman was Ebenezer¹ Erskine of Stirling, a leader in the battle for the right of "popular election". In 1732 he preached a

1. See Fraser, D., The Life and Diary of the Reverend Ebenezer Erskine.

vigorous sermon in which he denounced the Assembly. For his boldness the assembly rebuked him, but he remained obdurate and in 17³53 he was declared to be no longer a minister of the Church. Three other ministers shared in this ban, and the answer of the group to the Assembly's action was to form the Associate Presbytery. Thus the first Secession came in 1733. Alarmed at the gravity of the situation the Church sought for seven years to win the Seceders back to the Church. The Act of 1732 was abolished, and Parliament was petitioned to abolish patronage. These measures were unsuccessful as the Seceders were not to be won back. They felt that the dominant party remained unchanged in sentiment and that the conciliatory measures were dictated because of expediency. Failing to win them back, the Church formally deposed them in 1740. The Seceders became a profound influence in Scottish life, though in leaving the Church they strengthened the hold of the Moderates, who became stronger¹ through this defection.

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1. Cunningham, Church History of Scotland, vol. II, pp. 278-311. Mathieson, W. L., The Awakening of Scotland, pp. 145-148. Brown, History of Scotland, vol. III, pp. 192, 193. Craik, A Century of Scottish History, pp. 250-252. Graham, Social History of Scotland, pp. 372-5. Lang, A., History of Scotland, pp. 306-307.

The Scots are not a highly emotional people, and they are especially reserved in the matter of their religion. This religious reserve so characteristic of the Scottish people has given rise to the notion that revival movements have had no place in the religious history of this people. Scotland has been no stranger to revivals. Certain sections have been especially noted for seasons of revival, notably the West and South country. The West of Scotland welcomed Lollardry in the fifteenth century and its influence was felt for years as a deeply religious impulse. Knox called the district of Kyle "that ancient receptacle of God's people". From the earliest days the Reformers preached the personal type of religion which begets warmth and earnestness, and where such religion exists as traditional a revival movement may easily develop.¹ During the seventeenth century there were a number of revivals. The days of persecution deepened the religious life of the people and their hearts were awakened to a sense of God. The revivals at Stewarton and Shotts were especially noteworthy. The Stewarton revival came under the leadership of Reverend David Dickson, minister at Irvine. This revival was attended by the usual phenomena, and the scoffers called it the

Henderson, Religion in Scotland, pp. 208, 209.

"Stewarton sickness". Mr. Dickson says of this work:

"The Lord had a great work in converting many. Numbers of them were at first under great terrors, deep distress of conscience, and afterwards attained to sweet peace and strong consolation . . . I profited more by them than I think they did by me; though ignorant people and proud secure livers called them the daft people of Stewarton."¹

The revival lasted for five years and did much good throughout the whole countryside. In 1630 a similar revival occurred at Shotts, and throughout the period of persecution great success attended the ministry of the Word. Such revivals were spoken of as a "wark", and the mid-eighteenth century witnessed the most remarkable of such in the Cambuslang "wark".²

The revival at Cambuslang occurred in 1742 and has been accredited by some to the influence of George Whitefield.³ Whitefield's remarkable power as a pulpit orator helped this work without doubt, but

1. Duncan, History of Revivals, pp. 200, 201.

2. Ibid., pp. 186-227.

3. Lecky, History of England, vol. iii, p. 109.

Webster, Divine Influence, etc., p. 13.

it was well started before he came to participate in it. The eighteenth century revival movement was wide in its scope and embraced many countries. The Wesleyan Movement was a great influence in other lands than England, but the awakening was in many respects spontaneous. Germany and America were affected as well as the British Isles. The Cambuslang revival was a part of the great evangelical awakening. Mr. McCulloch, the minister of this parish, was a good man, but in no way remarkable as a preacher. Without any special stress or effort on his part save a deep earnestness which was characteristic, the revival began in his congregation. It spread to neighbouring parishes and the whole district came under its influence. Mr. McCulloch was assisted by other ministers of the Evangelical party: Robe of Kilsyth, McLaurin of Glasgow, Willison of Dundee, and Gillespie of Carnock. Kilsyth, Cumbernauld, Calder, Campsie, and other parishes were likewise moved to revival enthusiasm. Whitefield was invited to preach and his powerful appeals brought the people to a high state of religious excitement. Such scenes as were witnessed at the great communion services held at Cambuslang had not been seen in Scotland for years. There were extravagances such as accompany revivals but that great good was accomplished cannot be doubted. Many

backslid but the testimony is convincing as to the¹
deepening of the spiritual life.

There was much criticism of the movement, and especially from the Seceders, who refused to believe that there could be spiritual power in the Establishment. They were hostile to Whitefield because² he was a priest of the prelatic English Church, and they also condemned the extravagances of the movement. The Cameronians were extreme in their condemnation.³ The Moderates ascribed the work to pure hysteria and derided the wild enthusiasm. The min-

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1. See: Robe, Revival of Religion, etc. Duncan, Revivals. MacFarlan, Revivals of the Eighteenth Century. Wellwood, John Erskine, pp. 106-110. Cunningham, Church History of Scotland, pp. 314-317. Webster, Divine Influence, etc.
 2. See following chapter for discussion of Whitefield's relation to the Seceders.
 3. They published "The Declaration, Protestation, and Testimony of the Suffering Remnant of the anti-popish, anti-Lutheran, anti-Prelatic, anti-Whitefieldian, anti-Erastian, anti-Sectarian, true Presbyterian Church of Christ in Scotland, against Mr. George Whitefield and his encouragers, and against the work at Cambuslang and other places." Cunningham, vol. ii, p. 317.

isters most active in the work did not encourage this hysteria, but accepted it as a physical reaction from a distressed mind. The view of the more liberal minded Seceders probably represented the typically Scottish opinion of the revival movement, namely, that it appealed too largely to the emotions and ignored the intellectual. The Scot blended emotion and intellect in religion, and a purely emotional appeal was viewed with suspicion. The "Wark" at Cambuslang, though chiefly confined to one district, and though looked at askance by most of the Scottish people, was undoubtedly an influence in quickening the religious life of eighteenth century Scotland.¹

The new life which surged through Scotland following the Forty-Five was manifested in the Church. A group of younger, more vigorous men were coming to leadership in the Moderate party. They had less spirituality than the leaders of the older school of Moderates. The latter looked upon patronage as an intrusion of the secular authority into a purely religious field. The new school of Moderates were frankly in favour of patronage and stood for the rigid engorgement of the law. They were not in

1. Robe, Revival of Religion, etc., Cunningham, vol. ii, pp. 317-319.

sympathy with the masses but believed in a religion which could attract the upper classes through its intellectual appeal. They had a majority in the Assembly, as was evident at the Secession; but this defection warned them of the danger to the Church from a too vigorous insistence on patronage. From 1739 to 1752 there was less agitation over this vexatious problem though disputed settlements still occurred. In 1752 the New Moderates were in a position of sufficient power to 'enforce discipline' as they termed patronage. The rigid enforcement led to another Secession and the founding of the Presbytery of Relief. The Assembly ordered the Presbytery of Dumfermline to induct a Mr. Richardson who had been presented to the parish of Inverkeithing. Six members of the Presbytery refused to assist, on the ground that the presentee was unacceptable to the people. The Assembly of 1752 voted to depose one of the number and Thomas Gillespie of Carnock was¹ selected as the victim. This good man was deposed and though later attempts were made to have him reinstated, these failed. In 1761 he united with Thomas

1. The wife of Gillespie, on hearing the news of deposition, said to him: "Weel, if we maun beg, I'll carry the meal-poke." Lecture, Professor Watt.

¹
 Boston of Jedburgh to form the Relief Presbytery.
 This Presbytery was to serve as a refuge to those
 who left the Establishment because of patronage.
 Following the deposition of Gillespie the Moderates
 entered upon a period of full control in the Assem-
 bly though the Popular party, or 'High-flyers',
 continued in their leadership of the masses. They
 were strong enough in the Assembly to procure a
 rebuke for the Moderate, Carlyle of Inveresk, who
 had attended the theatre to witness the production
 of 'Douglas', a play written by another Moderate,
²
 the Reverend John Home..

The Moderate party closely associated itself
 with the literary life of Scotland, so rich and
 varied in this era. The leader of the party,
 Principal Robertson, was more interested in liter-
 ature than he was in religion. The Moderate
 ministers preached morals and right living, but
 eschewed anything which approached emotion or the
 deeply spiritual. The Popular party continued to
 urge the abolition of patronage and gained strength
 as the abuses of the patronage system brought it
 into greater disrepute. Many Synods petitioned for

1. Son of Boston of Ettrick.

2. Cunningham, vol. ii, pp. 338-348. Mathieson, The
Awakening, pp. 186-199.

the abolition of the law of 1712, and the Popular party capitalized on the increasing discontent represented by these petitions. In 1781, Robertson, the strongest leader in the Church since Carstares, resigned as leader of the Moderates and from this date the party declined in power. In 1785, Sir Henry Moncrief Wellwood, a leader of the Popular party was elected Moderator of the General Assembly and Evangelicalism matched itself on somewhat even terms with Moderatism. Patronage was not abolished until 1874 after a century and a half of struggle in which the Church suffered through secessions of many of its finest adherents. Yet in that struggle Scotland found constant sources of spiritual strength¹ and power.

In this century so filled with controversy and schism, there are, however, some constant religious attitudes common to practically all the Scottish people. Doctrinally, they were firmly attached to Calvinism. There were varying shades of interpretation, but fundamentally they were grounded on the same foundations. It was not until the nineteenth century that Arminianism made any headway in this

1. Mathieson, The Awakening, chapter v. Brown, vol. iii, pp. 288-295. Cunningham, vol. ii, pp. 366-381, 516-517.

northern land. It is not easy to determine whether Calvinism, so firmly established in Scotland, gave its grimness to Scottish religious character, or, whether the Scottish nature made Calvinism its natural theological concept. In any event it was an established fact that the Genevan theology became almost a part of the Scottish blood stream and assaults upon its strength were forlorn hopes until the nineteenth century. Calvinism is only rigidly cold when pressed to its extremes and if one searches for a prevailing note in Scottish religion in this century, it is found to be evangelical. Not always expressed in the pulpit, there was never a time when it could not be found as a pulsating stream among the people.¹

The Evangelicals in many respects held a middle course in Scottish religious life, protesting against the deistic tendencies of the overly liberal school, and the equally dangerous perils of enthusiasm. There can be no vital religion without some enthusiasm; but the Scot makes a distinction between that which warms the spiritual life, and an enthusiasm which is manifested in exaggerations and grotesqueries. The Scottish temperament is shy and

1. Watson, The Scot of the Eighteenth Century,
pp. 189-193.

reserved, chary of expressing emotion, logical, rather than impulsive, and exaggerated enthusiasm is¹ consequently repellant.

Loyalty to presbyterial polity is one of the most fundamental of Scottish religious traits. With this loyalty we find an equally strong hatred of prelacy. The struggle against prelatically inclined government deepened the hatred, and the bias of Parliament as shown in the Greenshield's case intensified it. Most of the antagonism to Whitefield was based on the fact that he was a priest of the Anglican Church. Many pamphlets were written stressing this viewpoint, though most of such were from the bigoted extreme. One states:

"It may be evident to every unprejudiced person from the arguments adduced from the Word of God, by our worthy ancestors, eminent both for learning and piety,-- that presbyterial government is the only form of government appointed by Christ in his Church, and that Prelacy stands in direct opposition unto the will of God

1. Stark, Lights of the North, p. 246. C. D-----, Sketch of Aberdeenshire Methodism, p. 3. Watson, pp. 271-3. Craik, p. 362. Lang, p. 306-308.

revealed in his Word; and is therefore
 most sinful, an high offence against
 God . . ."¹

The extremely bigoted view did not prevail among the majority of Scottish clergymen. They were, for the age in which they lived, singularly free from narrowness as a whole. Their loyalty to, and satisfaction with, Presbyterian government and order, did not prevent them from offering a welcome to men like Wesley and Whitefield. The Scottish pulpits were not closed to these evangelists as most English pulpits were in that day. It is significant, also, that when schisms occurred, the Seceders held rigidly to Presbyterianism as a form of church government. Independency did not show much vigour till the close of the century, and (even Scottish Indepen-² dency is largely Presbyterian in form.

In summarizing the religious conditions and developments in this century, one notes a real vigour in religious life. This vitality was maintained in spite of the deadening influence of deistic

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1. Moncrief, A., The Countenancing of Mr. Whitefield's Administration, pp. 6, 7.
 2. See Ross, J., A History of Congregational Independency in Scotland.

and rationalistic philosophy which so permeated the latter half of the century. The contest between the Moderates and Evangelicals was a constant factor through the entire century, and the Secessions which marked the struggle served as harbourages for a warmer type of religious experience. The Moderate influence served to liberalize the Church and the close of the century finds a greater catholicity and tolerance among practically all groups. Steady adherence to Calvinism, and intense loyalty to Presbyterian polity are constant through this period. Whether a group insisted upon the right of popular election, or was content with patronage, all were thoroughly anti-prelatic and despised the system of government as found in the Anglican Church. These were the religious conditions when the Wesleyan movement entered Scotland, and when one adds the background of suspicion and dislike due to political developments, it is evident that the movement had many handicaps and the prospect for its development was none too bright. Nevertheless, the evangelists of Methodism crossed the Border and the chapters which follow tell the story of their failure and success.

George Whitefield blazed the way.

PART III

WESLEYANISM IN SCOTLAND

CHAPTER I

GEORGE WHITEFIELD AND HIS MESSAGE

The exact date of the introduction of Methodism into Scotland has not been fixed with any certainty. Dr. Memyss introduced it to Aberdeen in 1747,¹ and that year may well serve as the beginning of the organized work of establishing societies. Doubtless there were many Methodists among the troops stationed in Scotland following the 'Forty-Five', for Wesleyanism in Musselburgh and Dunbar² owed its inception to the efforts of pious soldiers. Wesley's first visit to Scotland was at the invitation of a soldier, Colonel Gallot.³ However, prior to the work begun in Aberdeen in 1747 was the great evangelizing journeys of Methodism's premier preacher, George Whitefield. Though sundered from

1. See C. D., Sketch of Methodism in Aberdeen.

2. Jackson, Lives of Early Methodist Preachers,
vol. iv, pp. 136, 152.

3. Appendix A, p. 1.

Wesley through doctrinal differences, he was none the less a great factor in the Evangelical Revival and in Scotland prepared the way for Wesley's coming. Whitefield had no conscious intent to be a forerunner of Wesley, for he had no faith that Wesley could win a hearing in Scotland and so advised him. Nevertheless, he made it easier for the itinerants of Wesley when they came, for regardless of doctrinal differences, they were one in evangelizing spirit.

The preceding chapters have sketched the development of Wesleyanism in England, outlined the message of the movement, and presented a brief account of political and religious conditions in Scotland when Wesleyanism crossed the Border. It is interesting to note that with so many factors to militate against the success of Wesleyanism in Scotland, there were certain features in the movement which should have commended it to the Scots. Field-preaching, which was introduced into England by Whitefield, and which met with great opposition there, was no novelty in Scotland. The Scots had been accustomed to field-preaching since the days of persecution, and Whitefield's use of this method struck no jarring note. The custom of gathering groups together for prayer and religious counsel was also traditional in Scotland from the days of the

Reformation, and in this there is another point of similarity. These factors were not of sufficient strength to overcome the handicaps, but they helped¹ to secure a good hearing for Wesleyanism.

There has been considerable said as to the² Scottish influence upon the Methodist movement. This influence at the most was an indirect one, and is to be found in the writings of Scottish divines. Halyburton and Scougal are the two most significant in exerting an influence. The leaders of the Methodist movement were indebted to the writings of these Scots, but they were under a similar debt to others. Wesley and Whitefield had a profound admiration for Thomas Halyburton, and in 1739 Wesley published his life:

"An Abstract of the Life and Death of Mr.
Thomas Halyburton, With Recommendatory
Epistle by George Whitefield and Preface³
by John Wesley"

Wesley gives as his chief reasons for publishing it,

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1. Wellwood, Life of John Erskine, p. 104. London Quarterly Review, July-October, 1899, vol. 92, pp. 96, 115-118.
 2. See Butler's Wesley and Whitefield in Scotland.
 3. Tyerman, Life of John Wesley, vol. i, p. 287.

that, 1. "Because it contains a living exemplification of real religion, and, 2. Because Halyburton's struggles, doubts, fears, and general experience previous to his finding peace with God through faith in Christ, bear a striking resemblance to the case of Wesley himself."¹

A greater influence on Methodism is attributed to Scougal's book, The Life of God in the Soul of Man.² This fine devotional treatise was well known to the Wesleys, and was put into the hands of George Whitefield by Charles Wesley. That it had a profound effect on the life of Whitefield is undoubted and he attributed his conversion to acquaintance with it.³ Wesley thought so highly of the book that he published an edition of it and also republished some of Scougal's Sermons in his Christian Library.⁴ Wesley used this book earlier in his life, but he

1. Tyerman, Life of John Wesley, p. 287.
2. For a study of this remarkable man see Butler's volume, Henry Scougal.
3. Gladstone, Life of George Whitefield, pp. 24, 25. Butler, Wesley and Whitefield in Scotland, pp. 5-9. Journal of Wesley, vol. I, p. 167. Mathieson, Church and Reform in Scotland, p. 37.
4. Philip, A., The Devotional Literature of Scotland, p. 52.

does not give it so high a place as Whitefield. He attributes his awakening to Thomas a' Kempis' The Imitation of Christ, Taylor's Holy Living and Dying,¹ and Law's Christian Perfection. He does not specifically mention Scougal's treatise with these others. While in Georgia we find that he used this book for devotional purposes in his societies.² Scougal's influence was significant, but it is easy to over stress the importance of one influence. Where so many factors were in play, the Scottish influence, though undoubted, appears of less significance than others. Whitefield owed more to Scougal than the other leaders, and he was not sparing in his gratitude. Doubtless in coming to Scotland he felt that in a measure he was repaying a small part of his debt to Scougal.

Whitefield first entered Scotland in 1741. He came in response to an invitation from the Seceders with whose leaders he had been in correspondence for some time. There was a common bond which united the Seceders and the Wesleyans, inasmuch as both had as objectives the deepening of the spiritual life of

1. Journal, vol. i, p. 15.

2. Ibid., pp. 167, 247, 447, 448.

the Church.¹ The Seceders had a low opinion of the state of the Kirk, and while their defection from the Establishment came chiefly over the question of patronage, they likewise condemned the lukewarmness of the clergy in spiritual matters. The Seceders considered themselves as the true Scottish Kirk, the custodian of the Covenant in its purity and spiritual strength. They constituted the extreme wing of the Evangelical party when in the Establishment, and as such found much to draw them to the Methodist leaders. A correspondence was opened by Whitefield and Wesley with the Reverend Ralph Erskine and his brother Ebenezer, leaders of the Associate Presbytery. This correspondence began in 1739, two years before Whitefield came to Scotland. Ralph Erskine records, April 17, 1739:

"I received a letter this month from Mr. Whitefield, dated March 10, 1739, showing the great outpouring of the Spirit in England and Wales, and his utility in bringing home many souls to Christ; as also his hearing of our success in Scotland, and desiring to have a line from me. I did not suddenly answer

1. Grub, G. An Ecclesiastical History of Scotland, vol. iv, p. 68.

this line till I heard more about him
 which I did both in public prints, and
 by letters from London having written
 for an account of him."¹

With true Scottish caution the Erskines investigated Whitefield's record before entering into correspondence with him. They were convinced of the genuine quality of both Whitefield and Wesley, though the latter fell in their esteem when he rejected Calvinism. Whitefield, whose contacts with Jonathan Edwards in America, and his study of the Sermons of the Erskines, came to the avowed Calvinist position, which commended him to the Scottish people as a whole. August 21, 1739, Ralph Erskine wrote to Whitefield:

"I have now read your Journals and Sermons, and I can assure you, with reference to the whole work in general and the main scope of it, my soul has been made to magnify the Lord for the very great things he has done for you and by you."²

Whitefield's interest in the Associate Presbytery

1. Fraser, Life and Diary of Reverend Ralph Erskine,
 p. 287.

2. Ibid., p. 287.

grew though he was not clear as to their ideas of polity and order. He had been told that they were Cameronians, whose idea of force as an instrumentality was repugnant to his principles. The insistence of the Associate Presbytery that Presbyterianism was the only true form of church government distressed him, for he was liberal in his conceptions, and though willing to concede the faults of his own Church was not willing to concede that the Presbyterian polity had all the truth.¹ He felt drawn to the Seceders, and came to Scotland on their urgent invitation. He intended without doubt to join forces with them and if they had been more tolerant would have followed out that plan. Their insistence on his exclusive service in their churches made this impossible. They feared that his preaching would lend strength to the Establishment if he preached in their churches; and so they sought to confine his work to the Secession group. Ralph Erskine's letter of April 10, 1741, states:

"Such is the situation of affairs among us, that unless you come with a design to meet and abide with us of "the Associate Presbytery", and if you make your

1. Butler, Wesley and Whitefield in Scotland, pp. 16-18.

public appearances in the places especially of their concern, I would dread the consequence of your coming, lest it should seem equally to countenance our persecutors . . . I know not with whom you could safely join yourself, if not with us . . .¹"

Whitefield's reply was kindly, but he could not agree to give himself exclusively to the direction of the Seceders.

He arrived July 30, 1741, and went to Ralph Erskine's at Dunfermline. He told Erskine that "he could refuse no call to preach Christ, whoever gives it; were it a Jesuit priest or a Mohomedan he would² embrace it for testimony against them." August 5th he met with the Associate Presbytery at Dunfermline. The result was a complete break between them. They were insistent upon his becoming exclusively theirs, to which he could not agree. Ralph Erskine showed a fine spirit and pleaded that Whitefield might have more time to consider, but the brethren of the

1. Fraser, Life and Diary of Ralph Erskine, p. 322.

Fraser, Life and Diary of Ebenezer Erskine, pp. 424-427.

2. Fraser, Life and Diary of Ralph Erskine, p. 326.

Presbytery wanted him converted to Presbyterianism at once. So they parted, with regret on the part of Whitefield, and from this time on the Seceders were vigorous opponents of him and his work.¹

Whitefield found many friends among the Evangelicals of the Establishment who were glad to use his eloquence. It has been suggested that one reason why Whitefield refused to accept the plans of the Associate Presbytery was that Alexander Webster and other Evangelicals influenced him against such a course! This is hardly warranted by facts, and Whitefield's known catholicity makes it easy to understand why he could not agree to the plans of the Seceders. He was a "Presbyter at large" with a commission to preach to whosoever would listen.

His first visit lasted thirteen weeks, and he covered a wide range of territory. Much of his time was spent in Edinburgh, but Glasgow, Dundee, Paisley,

1. Wellwood, Life of Dr. John Erskine, pp. 93, ff. Berry, Scotland's Struggle for Religious Liberty, pp. 71, ff. Grub, Ecclesiastical History of Scotland, p. 70. M'Crie, Story of Scottish Church, p. 478. See also: Gledstone, Life of Whitefield. Tyerman, Life of Reverend George Whitefield, vol. ii. Philip, R., Life and times of Reverend George Whitefield.

Perth, Stirling, Crieff, Forfar, Galashiels, Aberdeen, and other towns had the privilege of hearing him. He preached in pulpits of the Established Church or in the fields where large crowds gathered to hear him. He was invited to Aberdeen by Reverend Mr. Ogilvie, and though attacked by the minister of the collegiate Church as an Arminian, he had a pleasant and profitable visit there.¹ He found a striking contrast from an England where the doors of his own Church were closed to his ministry, to a Scotland which gave him so generous a reception. This Scottish journey brought him more honour than had hitherto been his lot. The Scottish nobility were unusually kind, and he made friends amongst them who rendered him many services. The Earl of Leven, the Marquess of Lothian, Lady Mary Hamilton, Lady Frances Gardner, and others were among his friends.

The Scots not only received him kindly, but they treated him generously, contributing over £500 for his Orphan Home in Georgia. Edinburgh was particularly gracious, and Whitefield had a great affection for this city. Surely the Scots had been belied, for in their warmth and open-mindedness they

1. Gledstone, Life of Whitefield, p. 266. Wellwood, Life of Dr. John Erskine, p. 98.

were far different from what he had been led to
¹
 expect.

During this visit he preached many times a day and crowded an almost unbelievable amount of work into the few weeks. In a letter written to London, he says:

"The Lord is doing great things here. On Sunday last the Lord enabled me to preach four times, and to lecture in the evening in a private home. Yesterday, I preached three times and lectured at night. Today Jesus has enabled me to preach seven times . . . Notwithstanding, I am now as fresh as when I arose in the morning . . . The Holy Spirit seemed to come down like a mighty rushing wind. Every day I hear of some fresh good wrought by the power of God. I scarce know how to leave Scotland."
²

This was no unusual amount of labour for Whitefield or Wesley, for they crowded great activity into a day's compass. The same may be said for many of their faithful co-labourers.

1. See Gledstone and Tyerman, vol. ii.

2. Butler, pp. 31, 32.

Whitefield made fourteen visits to Scotland.

In many respects his second journey was the most significant. It was during this visit that he participated in the revival work at Cambuslang. Though his popularity was in no way dimmed in his succeeding visits, his second visit stands out from the others because of his power in this great revival of 1742. Opposition grew stronger toward him as his preaching blessed the Establishment, but it did not deter him in his work. He arrived in Edinburgh June 3, 1742, and left the latter part of October. His reception was encouraging in its warmth. Preparations were made to provide him with a suitable preaching place, and the managers of Heriot's Hospital erected seats in the Hospital Park. This outdoor auditorium accommodated two thousand people, and for twelve days Whitefield preached twice a day and nearly every night. These services were attended by great throngs. Though a curate of the Church of England, he was invited to assist in the administration of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper in several of the Established Churches.

He left for Glasgow and the West of Scotland in the middle of June, and after stopping at Glasgow he proceeded to Cambuslang where Mr. McCulloch had

been carrying on a great work for over a year.¹
 Whitefield's eloquence fanned the revival to its
 full flame. He records:

"At mid-day I came to Cambusland, and
 preached at two to a vast body of people,
 again at six and again at nine at night.
 Such commotions surely were never heard
 of, especially at eleven o'clock at
 night. For an hour and a half there was
 much weeping, and as many falling into
 such distress . . . as cannot be described.
 The people seemed to be slain in scores.
 Mr. McCulloch preached after I had done,
 till past one in the morning, and then
 could not persuade the people to depart.
 In the fields all night might be heard
 the voices of prayer and praise . . . I
 have today preached twice already, am to
 preach twice more, perhaps thrice. The
 commotions increase."²

Out-door communion services were held during the
 revival, and Whitefield assisted in these services.

1. See preceding chapter for discussion of Cambus-
 lang Work.

2. Butler, p. 36.

A notable one was held August 15th and drew people from great distances. Many leading clergymen of the Evangelical party came to assist. This was one of the most remarkable Sacramental services seen in many years. The preaching of all the ministers was attended with great emotional reactions. Whitefield proved the most attractive to the multitudes, and he was called to preach in many neighbouring towns to which the revival work was spreading. Despite the criticisms levelled at Whitefield and the revival, it is generally admitted that great good was done. The Seceders were virulent in their abuse of the revival and of the employment of a prelatie priest. There were many to defend him and the revival, and his own soul was uplifted in the consciousness of a work well done. He had never had greater success in his preaching than on this second visit to Scotland.¹ In October he returned to England.

Whitefield made twelve other visits to Scotland in the following years: September, 1748; July, 1750; July, 1751; September, 1752; July, 1753;

1. See: MacFarlan, Revivals of the Eighteenth Century. Robe, Narrative of Revival of Religion, etc.

Webster, Divine Influence, etc. Gledstone, Whitefield. Tyerman, Whitefield, vol. ii.

Butler's Wesley and Whitefield in Scotland.

August, 1756; May, 1757; August, 1758; June, 1759; November, 1762; March, 1763; June, 1768. During these journeys he spent most of his time in and around Edinburgh and Glasgow. While he was listened to as eagerly as on his first two visits, there were no such reactions as occurred during his second¹ visit.

The agitation of the Associate Presbytery against his employment in the Scottish pulpits had the effect of cooling the friendship of some who had formerly given him a warm welcome. Opposition to him took definite form when he came to Scotland for the third time. Two Synods, Glasgow and Perth, and the Presbytery of Edinburgh disputed as to whether ministers should be prohibited from employing him in their pulpits. The discussion in the Synod of Glasgow waxed warm. Mr. Millar of Hamilton observed, that:

"Some in that Presbytery had given considerable countenance to the ministrations of a celebrated Stranger, whose character was at best dubious; and that therefore it became the wisdom of the Synod to

1. Gledstone, Whitefield. Butler, Wesley and Whitefield.

declare their dissatisfaction at a conduct so faulty and irregular, by prohibiting the like for Time coming."¹

The members of the Presbytery to whom he referred were Dr. Gillies, of Glasgow, and Dr. John Erskine, of Kirkintilloch, warm friends of Whitefield. Mr. Gillies replied to Mr. Millar, saying:

"That he had indeed employed Mr. Whitefield and thought it his Duty to do so; and did not repent of it; The Synod might inflict what Censure they pleased."²

The chief objection to using Mr. Whitefield was that he was a priest of the Anglican Church, and his employment was a betrayal of their covenanting ancestors who had suffered at the hand of prelates. After a long debate the Synod passed the following motion:

"That no minister in their bounds employ strange ministers, or Preachers till he have sufficient evidence of their license and good Character, and be in readiness

1. Account of the Debate in Synod of Glasgow and Air, p. 3.

2. Ibid., p. 4.

to give an account of this his conduct¹
to his own Presbytery when called."

This motion was satisfactory to the friends of Whitefield and the fact that it was passed by a substantial majority is evidence that Whitefield's work had the approval of many. It is significant, however, that there was still much feeling in Scotland against the prelatic system, though the liberalizing of the Evangelical clergy is also manifest in their tolerance of Whitefield's orders. Several other Synods passed similar resolutions to that of the Synod of Glasgow. Dr. Erskine, Dr. Gillies, Dr. Webster and other friends warmly defended Whitefield against the attacks of the Seceders and other opponents. Through all the wrangling he preserved his usual poise and forbearance, though his third visit was undoubtedly marred by these vehement² attacks upon his work.

There was some lessening of hostility when he returned for his fourth visit, and he records that he met and shook hands with Ralph Erskine, which

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1. Account of the Debate in Synod of Glasgow and Air, p. 21.
 2. See Gledstone's Whitefield; Tyerman's Whitefield, vol. ii; Welwood's Erskine; and Butler's Wesley and Whitefield.

gave him great satisfaction. As usual he had good audiences and attentive hearings. His sixth sojourn among the Scots marked the beginning of a great influence among the divinity students in Glasgow and Edinburgh. This was true of his subsequent visits, and many a minister found the mainspring of a successful ministry in the revelation which came through Whitefield's preaching. His ninth visit brought him great honour as he was received in a most cordial manner by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. This put the stamp of the Church's approval upon him and his work. The appeal which he made to the people is evident in the fact that a Miss Hunter offered him an estate valued at £7000 for his own use or for his Orphanage. He had the good judgment to refuse, for this would have given cause for criticism, since one accusation made against him was that he wheedled people out of their money. His life of arduous toil affected his physical condition, and when he came to Edinburgh in 1761 he was forbidden by his physicians to preach. The following year he made his twelfth journey to the North. Wesley visited with him on his thirteenth visit and commented upon his failing health:

"The next day (May 22, 1763) I had the satisfaction of spending a little time

with Mr. Whitefield. Humanly speaking,
 he is worn out; but we have to do with
 Him who hath all power in heaven and
¹
 earth."

Calvinist and Arminian were united in a common faith
 in Him 'who hath all power'.

The sands were running out for Whitefield
 when he made his last journey to Edinburgh. His
 reception was as cordial as on his first visit, and
 warmer from the fact that he had friends of many
 years standing who welcomed him with joy. He
 preached to great multitudes the message of his
 Master, and his spell was no less than when as a
 young man of twenty-six he had first crossed the
 Border. Shortly after leaving Scotland he died in
 America, September 30, 1770, worn out with labours
 in the extension of the Kingdom. Edinburgh mourned
 a friend, and when Foote produced his play, "The
 Minor", in Edinburgh a few weeks after Whitefield's
 death, it was repudiated after its first performance
 because one of the characters caricatured Whitefield.
 Many ministers denounced the indecency of holding up
²
 to ridicule a man who had so blessed their city.

1. Appendix A, p. 10.

2. Gledstone's Whitefield, pp. 475, 476.

The clergy of the Scottish Church were in general cordial toward Whitefield. His personality was winsome and his theology was acceptable. There was opposition and abuse as has been noted. This opposition came from the two extremes in ecclesiastical Scotland, namely, the Seceders and Cameronians, and the Moderates. The former were by far the more violent in their denunciations. The Moderates opposed him on the grounds that his preaching encouraged enthusiasm and extravagance in religion. Dr. Robertson, who was a student at Edinburgh University when Whitefield came to Scotland, was opposed to him on these principles. Dr. Erskine, a student at the same time, was a zealous defender of Whitefield and his work. He believed in his usefulness and in his type of preaching. These two men, one a Moderate and the other an Evangelical, were members of the same Literary Society at the University, and so violent was the debate over Whitefield that it¹ disrupted the Society. Naturally there was much difference of opinion as to the usefulness of the great evangelist. In the main the Evangelicals supported him, while the Moderates opposed him. One of the Evangelicals, Mr. Willison of Dundee, who had² early approved of Whitefield's work, changed his

1. Wellwood, Life of John Erskine, pp. 99, 100.

2. Butler, Wesley and Whitefield, pp. 33, 34.

attitude because of his continuing in the fellowship of the Anglican Church. Whitefield's answer to Willison states his position clearly:

"Methinks you seem, dear sir, not satisfied unless I declare myself a Presbyterian, and openly renounce the Church of England. God knows that I have been faithful in bearing a testimony against what I think is corrupt in that Church. I have shown my freedom in communicating with the Church of Scotland, and in baptizing children their own way. I can go
¹
 no further.

Mr. Willison was taking the attitude of the Associate Presbytery, that Whitefield should abandon his own Church. This was not typical of the other Evangelicals, who were content to accept him for the good he did regardless of his Episcopalian ordination.

The virulence of the extreme opponents of Whitefield is seen in the type of literature which they published to oppose him. June 6, 1752, Mr. Adam Gib, one of the most bitter of Whitefield's enemies, and a leader in the Associate Presbytery, issued a pamphlet which went through a number of

1. Gledstone, Life of Whitefield, p. 287.

editions. It was entitled:

"A warning against Countenancing the ministrations of Mr. George Whitefield, wherein is shown that Mr. Whitefield is no minister of Jesus Christ; that his call and coming to Scotland are scandalous; that his practice is disorderly and fertile of disorder; and that his whole¹ doctrine is and must be diabolical."

It was in this same year, 1742, that the Associate Presbytery called for a day of fasting and humiliation in their churches for the countenance given to Mr. Whitefield.² The Seceders wrote against him and opposed his work in every way possible. There were many to defend him, and pamphlets were published in his behalf.³ Dr. Webster was very zealous in defending him. He condemned the narrow attitude of the Associate Presbytery and ridiculed their claims to superior goodness:

1. Tyerman, Life of John Wesley, vol. i, p. 374.

See Moncrief, The Countenancing of Mr. Whitefield's Administration.

2. Cunningham, Church History of Scotland, vol. ii, p. 317.

3. An Apology for the Presbyterians of Scotland, etc.

"It is with peculiar pleasure that I often think how my good friend Ebenezer (Erskine) shall then enter into everlasting mansions with many glorified saints, whom the Associate Presbytery have now given over as the work of Satan. May they soon see their mistake, and may we yet altogether be happily united in the bonds of peace and truth."¹

There is a chuckle in this observation of Webster which is more easily appreciated in this age of greater tolerance, but it is indicative of the liberal character of the Evangelicals who remained within the Establishment. On the whole the Scottish clergy gave Whitefield a cordial welcome, and his treatment north of Tweed was in strong contrast to that which he was accorded in his own country. He had firm friends amongst the Scottish clergy, such as Dr. Gillies, who wrote his biography and consistently aided him in his work in Scotland.

As a preacher, Whitefield had no equal in his day, and he ranks with the great pulpit orators of all time. His voice had great carrying power and was sonorous and sweet. A Calvinist in doctrine,

1. Gledstone, Life of Whitefield, p. 477.

he was not a polemic¹ preacher, but emphasized the 'life of God in the soul of man' as the essence of religion. His power lay in his simplicity of style and his utter faith in the message he brought. He appealed not only to the masses but to the upper classes who heard him gladly. He had natural dramatic ability which he used with great effect, and his control of an audience was remarkable. Scotland appreciated his pulpit power, and the crowds that attended his preaching on every visit are ample proof of his ability as a preacher, for the Scots are notable for their judgment on preaching.¹

The universal testimony is that the preaching of Whitefield profoundly affected Scottish religious life. Perhaps his greatest influence was felt in the breaking down of bigotry and narrow prejudice.² A curate of the Anglican Church, he came not as a sectarian but to promote a living religion which transcended the non-essentials of church polity and order over which there was so much of strife in that

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1. Henderson, Religion in Scotland, p. 209. Grub, Ecclesiastical History of Scotland, p. 72. Also Gledstone, Whitefield; Butler, Wesley and Whitefield; Wellwood, Life of Dr. John Erskine.
 2. Mathieson, The Awakening of Scotland, pp. 228, 229.

day.¹ His philanthropic interests, manifested in his own philanthropy, the Georgia Orphanage, and in Scottish humanitarian needs, influenced the Scots to² an interest in philanthropy which needed awakening. They were generous in helping him and took a more active interest in their own problems. The religious life was deepened by his earnestness and power, and the evangelical movement within the Kirk was strengthened by his repeated visits. His influence was largely indirect and so is difficult to estimate. However, it is best seen in the wide appeal he made to all classes from the highest to the lowest.

Scotland appreciated him, and he returned the affection.

"When we are taught to think of Edinburgh of that age as cold and dead, let us remember that it was of it that Whitefield when he left it exclaimed, 'O Edinburgh, Edinburgh, surely thou wilt never be forgotten by me', and that same Edinburgh never forgot him. When, years after, he was in danger of being hugged to death by his enthusiastic reception of its citizens

1. Somerville, T., My Own Life and Times, p. 67.

2. Gledstone, Life of Whitefield, p. 517.

and he sat, it is said, amongst them
'like a King of men on his throne'.¹"

Such a demonstration is not typical of the Scottish temperament and shows what a hold he had on the affections of this reserved people.

He left no organization to perpetuate his work, and his labours went to enrich the Scottish Church. In this respect his work was less significant than that of John Wesley, who was received with less enthusiasm but built more permanently in the country. Whitefield's preaching was his important contribution, and the memory of the strong sweet-voiced evangelist lingered in Scotland for years after his eloquent tongue was silenced in death.

1. Gledstone, Whitefield, p. 300.

Butler's Wesley and Whitefield, pp. 57, 58.

PART III

WESLEYANISM IN SCOTLAND

CHAPTER II

JOHN WESLEY AND HIS LABOURS

The world is my parish! Wesley's slogan was not an empty one, for he was willing to go to any corner that would give him hearers; yet one is naturally curious as to the reasons which led him to cross the Border into Scotland. He knew its doctrinal background and its religious history, and to carry Arminianism into the cold north took faith and courage in the mid-eighteenth century. Wesley was not lacking in either of these qualities, but his work in England was sufficiently engrossing to occupy his whole time, and his sense of the practical would not permit him to waste effort or beat the air. . In the Conference which met in Bristol, May, 1746, the question was asked:

"What is a sufficient call of Providence to a new place--suppose Edinburgh or Dublin?" Answer. (1) "An invitation from a serious man, fearing God, who has a

house to receive us; (2) a probability of doing more good by going thither than by staying longer where we are."¹

These conditions were not fulfilled so far as Scotland was concerned until 1751. It seems evident that Wesley had no serious intention of going into Scotland but meant to leave that field to Whitefield, who was having so much success there. If a door could be opened for him in Scotland, Wesley would not hold back through fear of failure. He would "deliver his soul" though none should follow him.²

Scotland was an easier field for Whitefield to work in because of his theological conceptions, which were acceptable to the Scots. Wesley did not approve of Whitefield's theology, but he did approve of his religious experience and the message which that experience gave through his eloquent lips. Let Whitefield arouse Scotland and warm its coldness at his heart ablaze with evangelical fire, Wesley would rejoice. He was conscious that his theological views would raise a barrier between himself and the

1. Simon, J. S., John Wesley and the Advance of Methodism, p. 42.

2. Ibid., p. 42.

Scots, that would be difficult to overcome. Whitefield warned him that he could do no good in Scotland and would only stir up controversy. In a letter written to the Countess of Huntingdon after Wesley's first visit to Scotland, Whitefield says:

"I have been to Musselburgh to see Captain Gallatin and his lady. They hold on. Mr. Wesley has been there, and intends setting up societies, which I think imprudent."¹

This was a firm conviction of Whitefield's, but Wesley did not concur entirely. His answer to Whitefield's warning was:

"If God sends me, people will hear, and I will give them no provocation to dispute, for I will studiously avoid controverted points and keep to the fundamental truths of Christianity . . ."²

This was Wesley's attitude consistently in Scotland. He was not oblivious to the difficulties. He knew the Scottish temperament and the strong prejudice in favour of the National Kirk. It was this knowledge

1. Tyerman, Life of Wesley, vol. ii, p. 119.

2. Parker, Methodism in Scotland, pp. 7, 8.

which took away much of his self-assurance when on Scottish soil. He was in a country where he walked as one in the night, and felt his way with caution as one on the defensive. It was easier for him to meet the passion-aroused mobs of England than to preach to the attentively interested, but coldly untouched, Scots. It was his understanding of the difficulties, and his tact in avoiding controversial points, which gave him what success he attained in reaching the Scottish soul. It was a meagre success measured in statistics, and it was earned at the expense of hard labour and travail of soul.¹

Wesley was not as favourably impressed with the Scots and their religion as was Whitefield. This difference of opinion was due, in part, to the attitude of the Scots towards the two men. Greater throngs came to listen to Whitefield, and he saw more immediate effect from his preaching. Wesley, who spoke with greater plainness in Scotland than anywhere else,² found it hard to reach their hearts. His Scottish audiences were not invariably stolid, but in general when speaking in public places he found little of the response to which he was

1. Pike, Wesley and His Preachers, pp. 171-173.

2. See discussion of Scot's love of plain-dealing which follows later in the chapter.

accustomed in England. His impression of Scottish religion was formed from contacts with the people in the services of the Kirk, and from the preaching of the clergy. He felt that they had more of form than of real heart religion. Yet, his attitude was sympathetic, and he had the evangelist's interest in deepening the piety of the already religious Scots.

Like Whitefield, Wesley had been in correspondence with some of the leaders of the Evangelical party in Scotland. He corresponded with the Erskines of the Associate Presbytery, and as early as 1745 was in correspondence with that other Erskine, Lord Grange, whose life gave substance to the accusation that Scottish religion was largely external. Grange advised Wesley not to come to Scotland without first educating the people in his principles.¹ When Wesley finally came it was at the invitation of Captain and Mrs. Gallatin, who were at Musselburgh, where the Captain was in garrison. This proved to be the "effectual door" for him in poor Scotland. He had no intention to preach on this journey.² He was ready to do so if the opportunity offered, but doubtless this visit was like that of Joshua "to spy

1. Parker, Methodism in Scotland, p. 8.

2. Appendix A, p. 1, ff. Simon, John Wesley and the Advance of Methodism, pp. 200, 201.

out the land". He crossed the Border April 24, 1751, and for the first time trod the Scottish heather. He was accompanied by Christopher Hopper, valiant itinerant in Scotland and the first Methodist preacher in the land.¹ Wesley was invited to preach at Musselburgh and had a large and attentive congregation on the evening of April 24th. The following day he preached again to a similar audience. They were ready to do him honour and urged him to stay longer. His time was limited, so he could not grant them longer time, but he promised to send Mr. Hopper back the following week. He was surprised to find that the Scots were not shy or argumentative but on the contrary friendly and receptive.²

Wesley undoubtedly was encouraged by his reception. He had found the Scottish people more appreciative than he had deemed they could be. His heart was set on a work in Scotland, and this visit

1. This is Hopper's claim, and he was the first Wesleyan preacher appointed for work in Scotland. In 1747 Herbert Jenkins, one of Whitefield's preachers, was in Scotland and received a cordial welcome; however, he was not of Wesley's immediate following, but was a Calvinist. Tyerman's Wesley, vol. i, p. 537.

2. Appendix A, p. 1, ff.

convinced him that the Methodist message could appeal to the Scottish people. His sanguine hopes were not concurred in by his brother Charles, who felt the venture in Scotland was vain. July 21, 1751, he says:

"I rode to Birstal, where John Nelson comforted our hearts with an account of the success of the Gospel in every place where he had been preaching except Scotland. There he has been beating the air for three weeks, and spending his strength in vain. Twice a day he preached At Musselburgh to some thousands of mere¹ hearers, without converting a soul."

The following month, August 12, 1751, he records:

"I had much discourse with a brother from Scotland who has preached there many weeks, and not converted a soul. 'You may just as well preach to the stones as to the Scots'.--Yet to keep my brother's² word I sent William Shent to Musselburgh."

The experience of Nelson so contrary to that of

1. Jackson, Life of Charles Wesley, p. 446.

2. Ibid., p. 447.

Wesley on his first visit, suggests that the former did not understand the approach to the Scottish temperament as well as Wesley. Hopper, who returned to Musselburgh as Wesley had promised, organized societies at Edinburgh and Musselburgh, and he shared in Wesley's hope for Scotland, for he says, "this¹ was the beginning of a good work in Scotland."

Wesley was not only agreeably surprised at the reception of his preaching by the Scots, but the country and its accommodations were a revelation. He notes the "air of antiquity" in Scottish towns and the oddness of their buildings. As regards the Scottish Inns he says: "We had all things good, cheap, in great abundance, and remarkably well dressed." The English looked upon Scotland as a barbarous country, and it was far behind the southern Kingdom in the refinements of life, but apparently the picture had been sadly overdrawn. Wesley was a keen observer, and his observations make his Journal a document of great human interest. He visited Edinburgh, and though impressed with its location, scores it as "one of the dirtiest cities I had ever seen, not excepting Cologne". One wonders if Wesley learned to seek the middle of the causeway at the

1. Jackson, Lives of Early Methodist Preachers, vol. 1, p. 206.

warning cry of 'gardy loo'.¹

Wesley made twenty-two journeys to Scotland, the last in May, 1770. The longest interval between his visits was from April, 1753, to May, 1757, a period of four years. Usually two years elapsed, but he made yearly visits from 1764 to 1768 and in 1779 and 1780. Edinburgh was visited on all but two journeys, his third and fourth, though he did not preach there on his first journey. Glasgow had sixteen visits in all. On his fifth journey he went north of the Forth to Dundee and Aberdeen. The former city was host to Wesley twelve times, and the latter on fourteen occasions. May, 1764, his seventh journey found him at Inverness for the first time, and he visited it on four other occasions. Dunbar and Musselburgh usually received preaching visits from Wesley whenever he came to Edinburgh, and he preached at Leith, Haddington, Ormiston, and Dalkeith on various occasions. North of the Forth he preached at Arbroath, Brechin, Perth, Forfar, Banff, Nairn, Elgin, Dunkeld, Rait, East Haven, West Haven, Inverurie, Old Meldrum, NewMill, Forglen, Keith, and other points. Some of these towns were visited with regularity on his northern itinerary, as Arbroath, Nairn, Perth, and Banff. In the vicinity of Glasgow

1. Appendix A, p. 1, ff.

he preached at Greenock and Port Glasgow. On his third journey in May, 1757, he visited Kelso and again in May, 1782, on his eighteenth journey. He passed through Dumfries many times on his way to Glasgow, but it was not until 1788 on his twenty-first journey that he spent any time in labour there. He covered a wide extent of territory, but his chief centers of activity were in Edinburgh, Glasgow, and¹ Aberdeen.

His first journey had given him heart for the work in Scotland, but his subsequent travels did not bring as great a measure of encouragement. He found the Scots difficult to understand and the way to their hearts not so easy of access as he had been led to believe by his first experience in Musselburgh. Tyerman points out that:

"In England, Wesley . . . found the masses ignorant, in Scotland they had to battle with a partially enlightened prejudice. In England, the great body of the people were without a creed; in Scotland² they were creed-ridden."

This observation is true in the main, and in addition

1. See Appendix A.

2. Tyerman, Wesley, vol. ii, p. 119.

Wesley's effective preaching of "Regeneration" did not come to Scotland as a new revelation as it did in England. The Scots were no strangers to this doctrine. It is no wonder that Wesley was amazed at the apparent stolidity of his Scottish hearers at a message which so profoundly affected English audiences. Yet, he had many encouragements, especially when the difference in the Scottish and English character is taken into account. Lack of outward expression is no indication that the Scot's soul is untouched with emotion.

Many Scottish pulpits were opened to him, and the ministers were for the most part generous in their attitude, a characteristic of the generality of the clergy of the Kirk. His efforts were seconded by such earnest ministers as Dr. Gillies, kind Mr. Ogilvie, good Mr. McKenzie, Mr. Fraser, and other devout evangelicals. The number of people who gathered to hear him was an encouragement. Though no such throngs waited on his word as was the case with Whitefield, yet he never lacked for hearers. On his second journey he preached to large audiences in Glasgow, both in Dr. Gillies' church, and out-of-doors. He was persuaded that what he said "came to some of their hearts, not in word only, but in power." He records that he spoke in the meadow to a crowd

which filled it, "as closely as ever in my life . . and I bear them witness they could bear sound doctrine".¹ He took courage on his third journey when he found the societies at Dunbar and Musselburgh in a fine spiritual condition. The encouragement of leaders in community life, like Bailiff Lindsey at Musselburgh, Provost Dickson at Haddington, and the generous hospitality of the Principal of Aberdeen University and members of the Faculty, were uplifting. He was never without influential friends in Scotland, even in the days when doctrinal controversy drove many erst-while adherents from his side. Aberdeen was always a comfort. He comments on the ministers of that city:

"We dined at Mr. Ogilvies, one of the ministers between whom the city is divided. A more open-hearted, friendly man I know not that I ever saw. And indeed. I have scarce seen such a set of ministers in any town of Great Britain or Ireland."²

In speaking of the Wesleyan work in Aberdeen (May 1763) he strikes the same appreciative note:

1. Appendix A, pp. 3, 4.

2. Ibid., p. 8.

"Surely never was there a more open door. The four ministers of Aberdeen, hitherto seem to have no dislike, but rather wish us 'good luck in the name of the Lord'. Most of the townspeople as yet seem to wish us well, so that there is no open opposition of any kind. Oh what a spirit ought a preacher to be of, that he may be¹ able to bear all this sunshine."

June 17, 1764, he preached in Edinburgh to the largest congregation he had seen in the Kingdom and the most deeply affected. "Many were in tears."² There was more active hostility toward him from his seventh journey on. However, this was due in part to the publication of Hervey's Letters and the opening of the Calvinistic controversy in Scotland. Also, Methodism had won some notable adherents, such as Lady Maxwell, and was emerging from its apparent obscurity, and so became an object of attack as it gained ground.

Discouragements came and he saw but little increase in the membership of the Societies. Crowds still came to hear him, but the work did not go

1. Appendix A, p. 10.

2. Ibid., p. 16.

forward as he felt it should. The Scottish Methodists lacked the enthusiasm of the English Societies, though he has warm praise for the Glasgow Society. He credits its greater warmth to the oversight and interest of Dr. Gillies.¹ The Dundee Society is found wanting, for there were in it less than "six² real believers". He approved of the Aberdeen Society and in general seemed to find comfort in the progress of the work in that vicinity. Wesley felt that the Scots were too fond of argument and dispute. He found it necessary to reprove the members of the Glasgow Society early in his Scottish ministry. On his third journey he records:

"After preaching I met as many as desired it of the members of the praying societies. I earnestly advised them to meet Mr. Gillies every week, and at their other meetings not to talk loosely and in general (as their manner had been) on some head of religion but to examine each other's hearts and lives."³

Evidently the advice was not taken to heart for on his next journey he found it necessary to exhort

1. Appendix A, pp. 19, 22.

2. Ibid., p. 12.

3. Ibid., p. 5b.

them again as to what Christian fellowship was. He says:

"I left them determined to meet Mr. Gillies weekly, . . . if this be done, I shall try to see Glasgow again; if¹ not, I can employ my time better."

The second exhortation had better results to judge from his later praise of this group. He deplored the Scots argumentative nature as an obstacle to spiritual progress, and tried to overcome it in his own groups. At Dundee, April, 1772, his Journal notes:

"I laboured to reconcile those who (according to the custom of the place) were vehemently contending about nothing."²

Such labour was irksome to one whose soul was filled with the passion to win men for the Kingdom of God. One reads his impatience with those who wasted precious hours contending over trifles. There are an increasing number of references to obstacles in the way as the Journal records his later travels. In 1770 he finds the ministers in Dundee, particularly

1. Appendix A, p. 6.

2. Ibid., p. 32.

Mr. Small, exceeding bitter. The Society at Edinburgh had decreased by two-thirds, though the congregations were¹ still large. In April, 1772, he says of the Edinburgh Society that:

"Out of ninety (now united) I scarce found ten of the original society; so indefatigable have the good ministers been to root out the seed God had sown in their hearts."²

After preaching in Leith he exclaims: "How long have we toiled here almost in vain! Yet I cannot but hope God will at length have a people even in this place."³ In 1774 he speaks in discouraged tones of the work at Perth: "I preached in the evening to a large congregation. But I could not find the way to their hearts. The generality of the people here are so wise that they need no more religion."⁴ Even in Inverness a new aspect appeared after the death of his good friends, Mr. McKenzie and Mr. Fraser, the ministers who had formerly aided him. "The three present ministers are of another kind, so that

1. Appendix A, p. 27.

2. Ibid., p. 32.

3. Ibid., p. 33.

4. Ibid., p. 35.

I have no more place in the Kirk ..."¹ He was not deterred from making visits with fair regularity even in the face of these discouragements, but his earlier hope of having a great work in Scotland faded with the increase of the difficulties.

His opinion of the Scottish people is gleaned from the Journal. He had a genuine regard for them, though their self-complacency sorely tried his patience. In general he found them attentively serious in the Church and in listening to his preaching. He finds some "flutterers"² in Arbroath, and has to rebuke some gentry who disturbed a meeting in Banff.³ These occasions were rare, for on the whole he had little to complain of in that respect. He was impressed above all with the Scot's love of "plain-dealing". He spoke with greater sharpness in Scotland than anywhere else:

"I spoke as plain as I ever did in my life; but I never knew any in Scotland offended at plain-dealing. In this respect the North Britons are a pattern⁴ to all mankind." "It is scarce possible

1. Appendix A, p. 43.

2. Ibid., p. 46.

3. Ibid., p. 39.

4. Ibid., p. 11.

to speak plain enough in Scotland. And
 if you do not, you lose all your labour;
 you ploughe upon the sand."¹ "I almost
 wonder at myself. I seldom speak any-
 where so roughly as in Scotland."²

He emphasises this trait of the Scots over and over
 in his Journal. They were a people who could bear
 the truth, though he felt that they did not always
 let the truth grip their lives.

Another trait of the Scots which is referred
 to many times in his Journal is their apparent lack
 of emotion. The following quotations illustrate
 this trait as Wesley found it:

"I went in the stage-coach to Glasgow;
 and on Friday and Saturday preached on
 the old green, to a people the greatest
 part of whom hear much, know everthing,
 and feel nothing!"³ 'In the evening I
 preached to a large congregation at
 Dundee. They heard attentively, but
 seemed to feel nothing.'⁴ 'I am amazed

1. Appendix A., p. 9.

2. Ibid., p. 46.

3. Ibid., p. 34.

4. Ibid., p. 24.

at this people. Use the most cutting words, and apply them in the most pointed manner, still they hear, but feel no more than the seats they sit upon'¹ 'At seven they were gathered from all parts. (at Alnwick) Oh what a difference between these living stones and the dead unfeeling multitudes in Scotland.'² 'I rode over to Archibald Grant's. The church was pretty well filled and I spoke exceeding plain; yet the hearers did not appear to be any more affected than the stone walls.'³ 'In the evening I preached at Dundee. The congregation was, as usual, very large and deeply attentive. But that was all. I did not perceive that anyone was affected at all. I admire this people; so decent, so serious; and so perfectly unconcerned.'⁴ "

Wesley occasionally found his way to the heart of the Scots, but when he did it was cause for something akin to surprise. His testimony bears out the

1. Appendix A, p. 48.

2. Ibid., p. 50.

3. Ibid., p. 18.

4. Ibid., p. 42.

general opinion that the Scots were usually successful in concealing their religious emotions.

The Scottish love of preaching won Wesley's admiration. He never lacked an attentive audience to listen to his message in reverent silence. Violence was offered him but once, and strange to say, it was in Aberdeen, a city he loved, and a city that was exceedingly kind to him. On this occasion an idler hurled a potato at him, though it did no harm.¹ When one contrasts this single act of violence with the mobs of England, it is easy to understand Wesley's appreciation of his Scottish congregations. The driving rain, or bitter cold, failed to daunt the Scottish people, and they gathered in the open many times in inclement weather to listen to Wesley's preaching. In these audiences were rich and poor, and not a few of the learned. This was true not only during his earlier visits, when the attraction of novelty doubtless drew some, but it was equally true on later visits when curiosity could hardly be considered as an attractive force. He stopped at Nairn, on one occasion, to dine and refresh himself, and was requested to preach. An audience was quickly gathered in the Kirk and he opened his heart to them. "Oh what a difference is there between South and

1. Appendix A, p. 24.

North Britain! Every one here at least loves to hear the word of God; and none takes it into his head to speak one uncivil word to any for endeavour-¹ing to save their souls." He preached at Edinburgh in 1788 to a large congregation of rich and poor, and "everyone seemed to hear for life. Surely the Scots are the best hearers in Europe."² He has varied comments on behaviour in the Church. He is loud in praise of the Episcopalians in Scotland, whose decorum and reverence he finds to surpass that of any group save his own Societies.³ The people of Inverness and Dundee were also commended for their habitual quiet and reverence.⁴ On the whole he found the Scots to be more reverent and decorous than the English.⁵ Though pleased with the seriousness of the Scots in Church, he objected to men "sitting at prayer or covering their heads while they are sing-⁶ing praises to God". The interest of the generality of the Scots in religion was manifested in their willingness to unite in family worship whenever he gave

1. Appendix A, p. 14.

2. Ibid., p. 54.

3. Ibid., p. 29.

4. Ibid., pp. 14, 40.

5. Ibid., pp. 4, 14, 37.

6. Ibid., p. 5a.

an invitation. This was true not only when he was in a private home, but also when he was at an Inn.¹ Though there was much to commend the Scot and his interest in religion, one feels that his opinion is that they were content with the form of piety, but lacked the vital quality which marks the highest form of religious experience. Yet he had hopes for a people whose attitude towards religion was so healthy, and he expressed that hope many times in his Journal. His patience is tried sorely, at times, as when on his last journey he found but a miserable congregation on a week-day at Glasgow. "This," he said, "verified what he had often heard before, that the Scots dearly love the word of the Lord on the Lord's day. If I live to come again, I will take care to spend only the Lord's day² at Glasgow." On reading these words one has to bear in mind that Scotland furnished Wesley good audiences on week-days, and even at five in the morning, on very many occasions.

His comments on the Scottish Kirk and Scottish preaching are of real interest. He had no high opinion of the General Assembly deliberations. He

1. Appendix A, pp. 15, 43.

2. Ibid., p. 58. For a contrary opinion see p. 48.

thought they consumed too much time discussing trifles. What may have seemed a trifle to Wesley, namely the placing of a minister, could easily have bearing of great moment for the Kirk involving as it did fundamental matters of church polity. At any rate he was disappointed, and failed to find the solemnity¹ which he expected. He considered the Scottish Communion Service as too long-drawn out, and lacking in² the dignity and simplicity of the English service. He attended an Ordination Service at Arbroath and³ found it dull and without inspiration. His chief criticism of Scottish preaching was that it lacked practical application. He felt that a sermon was lost that was not applied, and few Scottish ministers made the application.

"This very day I heard many excellent truths delivered in the Kirk; but, as there was no application, it was as likely to do as much good as the singing of a lark. I wonder the pious ministers in Scotland are not sensible of this. They cannot but see that no sinners are convinced of sin, none converted to God,

1. Appendix A, pp. 11, 12.

2. Ibid., p. 15.

3. Ibid., p. 38.

by this way of preaching. How strange is it, then, that neither reason nor experience teaches them to take a better way."¹

His own favourite method of "plain-speaking" was also lacking in the Scottish pulpit, which seemed strange to him, who found the Scots so ready to receive plain-dealing. "Oh what excuse have ministers in Scotland for not declaring the whole counsel of God, where the bulk of the people not only endure, but love, plain-dealing."² He felt that Scottish preaching contained much truth but had no more power to awaken a soul "than an Italian Opera".³ While his criticism of the majority of sermons was as above, we do find references to sermons of which he heartily approved.⁴ The preaching of Dr. Gillies and other strong Evangelicals was in harmony with Wesley's own methods.

The steadfastness of the Scot, which made it difficult to wean him from his inbred ecclesiastical preferences, was a trait Mr. Wesley admired. It made his work in Scotland difficult, but when he

1. Appendix A, p. 44.

2. Ibid., p. 31.

3. Ibid., p. 34.

4. Ibid., pp. 18, 23.

really won his way into a Scottish heart he knew he had secured a stalwart, determined disciple. When Mr. David Bruce, a London Scot, was introduced to Mr. Wesley, "he rubbed his hands as was his usual custom when pleased and said, 'A Presbyterian! Ah, they are hard to get at; but sure to keep when we do get them.'" ¹ It is quite possible that Wesley, like many others, was deceived by the Scottish stolidity and reserve, which so often masks a warm religious experience, and so misjudged the vitality of their spiritual life. When he struck fire from the Scot by his preaching, it was not a rare emotion which he found, but a rare expression of that emotion. One can understand the despair that grips him when faced by apathy and apparent lack of response in Scotland, or the corresponding joy when he strikes fire. ² "I perceived the Scots, if you touch but the right key, ³ receive as lively impressions as the English." The difficulty was that he could not strike this key as readily in Scotland as he did in England. His comments vary and sometimes are contradictory, which is easy to explain since his journeys cover a wide period of time, and conditions inevitably changed.

1. Wesleyan Methodist Magazine, April, 1827, p. 217.

2. Appendix A, p. 43.

3. Ibid., p. 20.

This does not contradict his general opinion of the Scots, that they were a people who loved religion and the Kirk; a people who bore "plain-dealing" and were the "best hearers in Europe"; a people hard to reach and unemotional, and a grim determined folk who held tenaciously to the form of religion though they did not have its vital essence.

Among the Scottish gentry were many pious, devout men and women who came to hear Wesley preach. Many of the gentry attended the yearly meeting of the General Assembly held in Edinburgh in May. Wesley was in Edinburgh a number of times during the sitting of the Assembly, and at such times the clergy and gentry attended his services in goodly numbers. There were many of this class who went to Bath, the fashionable resort of the day. Here they came in contact with Methodist preaching before Wesley ever came to Scotland. They were no strangers to his preaching, and he found friends amongst them who loyally supported him through his Scottish ministry. Of this number Lady Maxwell was undoubtedly the most noteworthy.¹ She belonged to a little circle of pious ladies who came under the ministrations of Mr. Webster, Mr. Walker, and other Evangelicals.

1. See Lancaster, Reverend J., The Life of Darcy, Lady Maxwell of Pollock.

She met Wesley in Edinburgh in 1764, and, though continuing her connection with the Established Church, joined his Society at Edinburgh. She lived for many years in Chalmers Close in the High Street, and her home was the center of Edinburgh Methodism.¹ Wesley wrote her (September 22, 1764):

"It gives me great pleasure, indeed, to hear that God has given you resolution to join the Society. Undoubtedly you will suffer reproach on the account; but it is the reproach of Christ."²

Through the years when Wesley was bitterly assailed for his Arminianism, she remained staunch when others were turned from him. Her friend, Lady Glenorchy, who had been interested in the Wesleyan movement, broke with Wesley on the matter of doctrine. Her Chapel was closed to his preachers, and she gave his work no further countenance.³ Wesley met Dr. Webster at Lady Glenorchy's house where they discussed doctrinal matters in a friendly way. They agreed on most doctrines except predestination and perseverance

1. Lancaster, Life of Lady Maxwell, pp. 15, 16.

2. Ibid., p. 16.

3. Ibid., p. 72. This gives her reasons for refusing the Chapel to Wesleyan preachers.

of the saints. Lady Glenorchy says of Wesley:
 "Nevertheless, I hope Mr. Wesley is a child of God.
 He has been an instrument in His hands of saving
 souls; as such I honour him."¹ Other members of the
 gentry who were influenced by Wesley were Lady
 Frances Gardiner,² the Earl of Buchan, Sir Alexander
 Grant, and Lady Banff. Wesley was entertained at
 the lovely home of Sir Alexander Grant at Monymusk³
 many times. It was not unusual to be honoured in
 this fashion as other noblemen were generous in
 their hospitality.⁴ These devout ladies and gentle-
 men, though sincerely attached to the National
 Church, gladly honoured God's messenger from south
 of the Tweed, and their courtesy brightened his
 Scottish journeys.

As an ordained clergyman of distinction and
 attainment, Wesley won the respect of most of the
 Scottish people. His work was opposed, especially

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1. Jones, T. S., Life of the Right Honorable
Willielma, Viscountess Glenorchy, p. 56.
 2. She was influenced by Erskine's Preface to with-
draw from connection with the Wesleyan movement.
Jackson, Lives of Early Methodist Preachers,
vol. ii, p. 145.
 3. Appendix A, pp. 8, 13, 18, 42, 43, 50.
 4. Ibid., p. 52.

after the Calvinian controversy entered Scotland, but he was rarely shown discourtesy. The chief objections to Wesley and his work were his doctrine and the use of lay preachers. Yet, it is significant that throughout his journeys to Scotland Established Church pulpits were opened to him, and clergy of the Kirk befriended him. He records more instances of kindness from the Scottish clergy than of hostility. Dr. John Erskine, one of the most popular of the Evangelicals, and Whitefield's firm friend, struck the hardest blow Methodism received in Scotland in Wesley's lifetime. This was in the publication of Hervey's Letters with a Preface in which he assailed Wesley's teachings. The controversy which followed the publication of these Letters alienated many who had been friends and retarded the work for years. It had scarcely recovered at the time of Wesley's death!

James Hervey wrote Theron and Aspasio in 1753. Wesley was one of his critics, and a coolness developed between these friends. In 1756 Wesley published A Preservative Against Unsettled Notions in Religion. This contained a Letter to Reverend Mr. Hervey. Hervey replied in Eleven Letters, but did not publish the pamphlet. After Hervey's death (1758) the Letters were published in 1764 under the

following title: Aspasio Vindicated, and the Scripture Doctrine of Imputed Righteousness Defended Against the Objections and Animadversions of the Reverend John Wesley, in Eleven Letters Written and Prepared for the Press, by the Late Reverend Mr.

J-----s, H-----y, A. B. This proved to be a bitter attack on Wesley, and the latter and his friends were convinced that the bitterness was due to the enmity of Mr. Cudworth, who had aided Hervey in the preparation of the pamphlet. Another edition was brought out by Hervey's brother in 1765. It was this pamphlet which Erskine republished in Edinburgh in 1765 with so much damage to Wesley's work in Scotland.¹ Dr. Erskine was disposed to be friendly to Wesley. However, he considered that his doctrines were dangerous, and his conduct : : lacking in sincerity and frankness. In the Preface to the Letters he warns the Scottish people against the Wesleyans:

"Many religious societies have been lately erected in Edinburgh under the direction of the Reverend John Wesley, and most of their members are persons warmly attached to the doctrine, worship, and discipline established in the Church

1. Simon, The Master Builder, p. 164, ff.

Tyerman, Life of Wesley, vol. iii.

of Scotland. Possibly the following sheets may convince some of them, that Mr. Wesley is by no means so orthodox as they have hitherto imagined . . ."¹

Erskine quotes from Wesley's works to show that his teachings are inimical to Calvinistic theology. He accused him of dissembling, inasmuch as he advised his preachers to avoid preaching those doctrines in Scotland which would stir up Scottish antagonism. He admits his respect for many of the Wesleyans:

"Of the sincere piety of some of their teachers, nay even of their sound principles he would think favourably. But when he reflects that one is the head of their societies, who has blended with some precious gospel-truths, a medley of Arminian, Antinomian, and enthusiastic errors, he thinks it high time to sound an alarum to all who would wish to transmit to posterity the pure faith once delivered to the saints, seriously to consider what the end of these things² may probably be."

1. Erskine, Mr. Wesley's Principles Detected, pp. 1, 2.

2. Ibid., p. 5.

Several of Wesley's preachers defended him in published pamphlets, but their efforts were futile, and, if anything, made matters worse.¹ Wesley wrote Erskine and later visited him in an attempt to remove the antagonism, but while Erskine was friendly, the² interview failed to accomplish its object.

No man was more highly regarded among the devout in Scotland than Dr. John Erskine. Even those who differed with him honoured him. It was this fact that made his attack so deadly. None can doubt his sincerity and that he felt he was doing the Church a service in exposing Wesley. Yet, it is not difficult to see how he was misled as to Wesley's attitude toward the Scots in the matter of preaching on doctrinal topics. It might well appear as dissembling to advise Wesleyan preachers to refrain from preaching on topics liable to antagonize the Scots. The facts are that Wesley's theological views were well known, and he made no attempt to conceal his Arminianism. The polemical atmosphere of the day clouded and distorted facts and issues that in the clearer light of a later day are easier

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1. See Kershaw's Earnest Appeal. Also Tyerman's Wesley, vol. ii, pp. 530, 531.
 2. Wesley's Works, vol. vi, pp. 744, 745. Berry, Scotland's Struggles for Religious Liberty, p. 81.

to understand. Wesley's attitude toward controversy has to be understood before judging his motives in regard to his advices to his preachers in Scotland. He hated controversy anywhere and avoided it when he could. He felt that in Scotland, particularly, it would be a hindrance to his work if doctrinal disputes arose. He urged his preachers to avoid such topics and preach those things that would awaken those spiritually dead. He wrote to Joseph Benson July 31, 1773, expressing his views on controversies:

"God has made practical divinity necessary, and the devil, controversial. Sometimes we must write and preach controversially; but the less, the better. I think we have few, if any, of our travelling preachers, that love controversy. But there will always be such men (whose mouths must be stopped), Antinomians and Calvinists in particular. By our long silence, we have done much hurt, both to them and the cause of God."¹

Wesley avoided dispute until such time as it became necessary for the protection of his work. He did not hesitate to put the blame where blame belonged,

1. Wesley's Works, vol. vii, p. 73.

and we have an earlier letter to Lady Maxwell in which he condemns one of his preachers, Mr. McNab for his warmth in dispute in Edinburgh. The letter is dated January, 1771:

"He is too warm and impatient of contradictions, otherwise he must be lost to all common sense to preach against final perseverance in Scotland. From the first hour that I entered the Kingdom, it was a sacred rule with me, never to preach on any controversial point, at least not in a controversial way. Anyone may see that this is only to put a sword into our enemies hands. It is the direct way to increase all their prejudices . . ."¹

This letter throws light on his attitude. He was not polemical but evangelical in his approach. However, the harm was done, and from this time on the work was made exceedingly difficult, especially in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh. One of the travelling preachers, Mr. Thomas Hanby, said:

"About this time Mr. Erskine published Mr. Hervey's Letters with a Preface equally bitter. O the precious convic-

1. Lancaster, Life of Lady Maxwell, pp. 70, 71.

tions these letters destroyed . . . What
 a pity good men should help to destroy
 the real work of God in the hearts of
 men.¹"

Many of the ministers were extremely antagonistic,
 and other pamphlets were published against Wesley
 that lacked the dignity of Erskine's Preface.²
 Zechariah Yewdall quotes a Burgher minister as say-
 ing, "that he would stake his own salvation upon it,
 that if Mr. Wesley died in his present sentiments,
 he would be damned."³ Wesley felt the difference in
 the Scottish atmosphere on his journeys following
 the publication of Erskine's Preface. In a letter
 to Lady Maxwell dated February 26, 1771, he says:

"I cannot but think, the chief reason of
 the little good done by our Preachers at
 Edinburgh is the opposition which has been
 made by the ministers of Edinburgh, as
 well as by the false brethren of England.
 These steeled the hearts of the people
 against all good impressions which might

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1. Jackson, Lives of Early Methodist Preachers,
 vol. ii, p. 145.
 2. See Martin's A Few Thoughts, etc.
 3. Arminian Magazine, 1795, vol. xviii, p. 373, 374.

otherwise have been made, so that the same preachers, by whom God has constantly wrought not only in various parts of England but likewise in Northern parts of Scotland, were in Edinburgh only useless . . . They felt a damp upon their spirits, they had not their usual liberty¹ of speech . . ."

It is all too evident that the publication in Scotland of the Letters created great havoc with Wesley's work. He pursued his way without bitterness or² acrimony, and time has justified him.

Wesley's attitude, far from dissembling, was exceedingly frank. At Dundee in 1766 he reviewed the principle objections made to the Methodists and explained his position:

"I love plain dealing. Do not you? I will use it now. Bear with me. I hang out no false colours; but show you all I am, all I intend, all I do. I am a member of the Church of England; but I love good men of every Church. My ground is the Bible . . . I follow it in all

1. Lancaster, Life of Lady Maxwell, p. 72.

2. Appendix A, pp. 16, 33.

things, both great and small. Therefore,

1. I always use a short private prayer when I attend the public service of God. Do not you? Why do you not? Is not this according to the Bible?
2. I stand whenever I sing the praise of God in public. Does not the Bible give you plain precedent for this?
3. I always kneel before the Lord my Maker when I pray in public.
4. I generally in public use the Lord's Prayer, because Christ has taught me, when I pray, to say - -. I advise every preacher connected with me, whether in England or Scotland, herein to tread in my steps.¹

His explanation seemed satisfactory to the large audience who heard him. At Glasgow a few days later he followed the same plan. "In the close I enlarged upon their prejudices, and explained myself with regard to most of them."² On a later visit to Glasgow, "he took occasion to fall upon their miserable bigotry for opinions and modes of worship. Many seemed to be not a little convinced; but how long will the impressions continue."³ On the next to his

1. Appendix A, p. 18.

2. Ibid., p. 20

3. Ibid., p. 29.

last journey in 1788 he explained the uniqueness of Methodism:

"There is no other religious society under heaven which requires nothing of men in order to their admission into it but a desire to save their souls. Look all around you: You cannot be admitted into the Church, or society of the Presbyterians, Anabaptists, Quakers, or any others, unless you hold the same opinions with them, and adhere to the same mode of worship. The Methodists alone do not insist on your holding this or that opinion; but¹ they think and let think . . ."

There is a frank outspokenness in these statements which refutes any accusation of deceit or concealment of principle. Wesley did not insist upon certain doctrines or modes of worship. If one desired to "flee from the wrath to come" and sought salvation, his opinions of theology were of small matter. He insisted on lives that reflected the teaching of Christ as evidence of a sincere desire for holiness. He touches doctrinal matters sparingly for he came into Scotland not as a controversialist, but as an evangelist.

1. Appendix A, p. 55.

Wesley advanced reasons for the slow growth of Methodism in Scotland. He attributed part of the difficulty to the effect of Erskine's attack.¹ Much of the difficulty came from the attitude of the travelling preachers. At Edinburgh, where there was a noticeable decline in the work, he said:

I impute this chiefly to the manner of preaching . . . The people have been told, frequently and strongly, of their coldness, deadness, heaviness, and littleness of faith, but very rarely of anything that would move thankfulness. Thereby many were driven away, and those that remained were kept cold and dead."²

There was evidently a feeling on the part of some of the travelling preachers that a settled ministry would appeal to the Scots more than the travelling preacher. In this, they were without doubt, correct, but Wesley did not think so. His work elsewhere had thriven through the itinerancy and Scotland could be won in the same way. His letter to Joseph Benson, October 23, 1773, stated:

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1. Lancaster, Lady Maxwell, p. 72. Appendix A, pp. 32, 33.
 2. Appendix A, pp. 21, 22.

We are not called to sit still in one place; it is neither for the health of our souls nor bodies. Billy Thompson never satisfied me on this head, not in the least degree. I say still, we will have travelling preachers in Scotland, or none.¹"

There was further reference in a letter a year later when he said: "While I live, itinerant preachers shall be itinerants . . . I have weighed the matter and will serve the Scots as we do the English, or leave them."² The failure to carry out the full itinerant plan, and the discontinuance of the early morning services,³ he seemed to consider as most detrimental to progress, and he urged the full Methodist plan. In a letter to Lady Maxwell of August 3, 1788, he comes back to his insistence:

"It is certain many persons both in Scotland and England would be well pleased to have the same preacher always. But we cannot forsake the plan of acting which we have followed from the beginning. For fifty years God has been pleased to bless

1. Wesley, Works, vol. vii, p. 74.

2. Ibid., p. 76. See also Appendix A, pp. 34, 49.

3. Ibid., p. 44.

the itinerant plan . . . It must not be altered till I am removed, and I hope will remain till our Lord comes to reign¹ upon the earth . . ."

Wesley was opposed to the abatement of his peculiar system because of Scottish prejudice. He wanted to win the Scots but through his own methods. He wrote to John Bredin, 1773, then stationed at Aberdeen and insisted on his adherence to the Methodist system:

"Observe and enforce all our rules exactly as if you were in England or Ireland. By foolish compliance our preachers in Scotland have often done harm. Be all a Methodist; and strongly insist on full salvation to be received now by simple² faith."

There is no concealment of principle in these letters, and one sees the inflexible will of Wesley as he faced Scottish prejudice and the temporizing of his preachers. The reasons given by Wesley account in part only for the slow advance of the Methodists. It is doubtful if greater progress would have been made even had the preachers been more loyal to the

1. Eayrs, G., Letters of John Wesley, p. 417.

2. Tyerman, Life of John Wesley, vol. iii, p. 151.

system. The causes go deeper than mere failure to observe the Methodist rules. To Wesley's eye, close to the situation as he was, it might well seem that the consistent use of methods which had been successful in England would have eventually succeeded in Scotland. Viewed from the broader perspective of years, it is seen that the Scottish religious and political background is of greater significance in a study of the retardation of Scottish Wesleyanism. Wesley judged from the effect of his own preaching, which won favour in so many quarters, while his own personality overcame many prejudices which his preachers found as impassable barriers. His genius was recognized and respected, whereas, his preachers though good men, and many of them able, failed to win the same regard. They suffered as well from the handicap of being lay-preachers; and lay-preachers were not popular in Scotland. This handicap was recognized, and it led Wesley to take the same steps for Scotland that he had earlier taken for America, namely, to ordain preachers for the work north of the Tweed.

There has been some conjecture as to Wesley's purpose in ordaining men for Scotland. More has been read into his act than evidence warrants. The Societies were not growing; in fact there was an

actual decline after 1771. The earliest membership returns for Scotland begin in 1766, and in that year four hundred eighty-six members were reported.

There was a gradual increase until 1771 when eight hundred ninety-two were reported. Between 1771 and 1786 the membership dropped, the lowest figure being that for 1782 when four hundred fifty-nine were¹ returned. The situation was serious, and the question was raised as to whether it would not be better to withdraw entirely. The Conference of 1779 considered the problem, and the question was asked:

"What can be done to revive the work in Scotland? Answer 1. Preach abroad as much as possible. 2. Try every village and town. 3. Visit every member of every Society at home. 4. Let the preacher at Dundee and Arbroath never stay at one place more than a week at a time. 5. Let each of them once a quarter visit Perth and Dunkeld and the other intermediate² villages."

The emphasis here is on the carrying out of the itinerant plan more consistently. If this was done it had little effect in remedying the situation.

1. Appendix C, p. 1.

2. Minutes, vol. i, p. 142.

Wesley's study of the situation convinced him that the Scottish Methodists were in the same situation as the American Methodists were at the close of the Revolutionary War. The Episcopalian ministers in Scotland refused to administer the sacraments to Methodists unless they gave up their connection with the Methodist Societies. Though the ministers of the Establishment were broader in spirit than the Episcopalians, there was a decided change in their attitude as a whole, since the publication of Hervey's Letters. Thus Scottish members of the Wesleyan Societies found themselves without the ministrations to which they had been accustomed. Many had not severed their connection with the Establishment on joining the Methodist Societies, but with the changed attitude of the clergy, they found themselves forced to a choice. The result was that many went back to the Kirk.¹ Wesley could not ignore the situation, and at the Conference held in London in 1785 he ordained three of his preachers for the work in Scotland. The three were John Pawson, Thomas Hanby, and Joseph Taylor. In 1786, he ordained Joshua Keighley and Charles Atmore. He made it clear that these ordinations were for Scotland only. The ministers were to wear the gown and

1. Jackson, Life of Charles Wesley, pp. 719, 720.

Tyerman, Life of John Wesley, vol. iii, p. 441.

bands, and administer the sacraments. However, they were to doff the gown and bands and lose their ministerial dignity whenever they should be assigned to work in England. Pawson, in a letter to Atmore dated August 8, 1787, voices his discontent with this arrangement:

"Mr. Wesley seems more determined to abide in the Church than ever We are to be just what we were before we came to Scotland --- no sacraments, no gowns, no nothing at all of anykind whatsoever . . . Here we see something which I believe was never seen in the Christian Church before, that men approved of God and their brethren should be and act in the capacity of ministers, and yet should be deposed from that office by one single man, even the Pope himself never acted such a part as this However, I am satisfied, and have nothing but love

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in my heart to the good old man."

Wesley feared separation though he could but see that after his death it was inevitable. Ordinations for the Scottish work did not imply separation, since the Scottish Episcopalian Church was neither Established nor connected with the Anglican Communion. Does it follow that Wesley meant to establish a Scottish Methodist Church? This is the claim made, and if one uses inference for evidence a case can be made for this position. One writer says, "In 1785 Mr. Wesley founded the Methodist Church in Scotland conforming in externals with the Established Presbyterian Church of the Country."² The basis for this assumption is found, doubtless, in the statement of Pawson that, "We had orders from Mr. Wesley to

1. Tyerman, *Life of John Wesley*, vol. iii, pp. 497, 498. Note: In a letter to Joseph Taylor, dated November 16, 1788, Wesley refers to this problem: "I take knowledge of your spirit and believe it is your desire to do all things right. Our friends at Newark seem to have forgotten that we have determined over and over not to leave the Church . . . I desire that you should not wear surplice nor administer the Lord's Supper anymore." Eayrs, Letters of John Wesley, p. 214.

2. Wilson, D., Methodism in Scotland, pp. 9, 10.

form our people into a church, and administer the ordinances of baptism and the Lord's Supper among them."¹ In 1788 when Wesley visited Edinburgh he says:

"I spent two days among them with much satisfaction; and I was not disappointed in finding no such increase, either in the congregation or the society, as many² expected from their leaving the Kirk."

This would seem to indicate that Wesley recognized the Edinburgh Society as a Church and bears out Pawson's statement. One would expect some definite plan for the organization of the Societies into a Scottish Methodist Church, for Wesley did nothing in haphazard fashion. There is no further evidence that he had such a plan in mind. Certainly, he would not have planned a Church conforming in externals to the Established Presbyterian Church. His attitude toward the Presbyterianizing of his Societies was quite clear. His letter to Jonathan Crowther, May 10, 1789, makes it emphatic:

"My Dear Brother;- Sessions! Elders!

1. Jackson, Lives of Early Methodist Preachers, vol. iv, p. 56.

2. Appendix A, p. 55.

We Methodists have no such custom, neither any of the churches of God that are under my care. I require you, Jonathan Crowther, immediately to dissolve that sessions (so called) at Glasgow. Discharge them from meeting any more. And if they will leave the Society, let them leave it. We acknowledge only preachers, stewards, and leaders among us, over whom the assistant in each circuit presides. You ought to have kept to the Methodist plan from the beginning. Who had any authority to vary from it? If the people of Glasgow, or any other place, are weary of us, we will leave them to themselves. But we are willing to be still their servants for Christ's sake, according to our own¹ discipline, but no other."

Wesley explains in this letter the Methodist plan of government, and there is no change from his earlier system of organization. The Scottish Societies, though spoken of as a church, are organized on the same plan as the English Societies, and Wesley did not consider the latter as churches. The significance of the Scottish Ordinations is found in

1. Wesley, Works, vol. vii, p. 258.

Wesley's own explanation as reported in the Minutes of the Conference of 1785:

"After Dr. Coke's return from America, many of our friends begged I would consider the case of Scotland, where we had been labouring for many years, and had seen so little fruit of our labours. Multitudes indeed set out well, but they were soon turned out of the way; chiefly by their ministers either disputing the truth, or refusing to admit them to the Lord's Supper; yea, or to baptize their children, unless they would promise to have no fellowship with the Methodists. Many who did so soon lost all they had gained, and became more the children of hell than before. To prevent this, I at length consented to take the same step with regard to Scotland, which I had done with regard to America. But this is not separation from the Church at all. Not from the Church of Scotland, for we were never connected therewith, any further than we are now: not from the Church of England, for this is not concerned in the steps which are taken in Scotland.

Whatever then is done either in America or Scotland, is no separation from the Church of England. I have no thought of this. I have many objections against it.¹
It is a totally different case."

Expediency dictated the Scottish ordinations. Just as the exigencies of the day forced him to take up field-preaching, and as the American emergency called for ordinations, so the Scottish problem was met in the same practical way. He was in some² doubts as to the efficacy of the remedy, but he was willing to make trial of the plan. There were many Scottish Methodists who firmly believed that the solution of the Methodist difficulties in Scotland was to be found in the establishment of a Scottish Synod or Conference similar to the Irish Conference. They read into Wesley's ordinations for Scotland his intent to found such a Scottish Church. Wesley was reluctant to ordain, for he knew that eventually ordinations would mean separation. When he later came to ordain for the work in England, as in the case of Alexander Mather, he was within sight of the

1. Minutes, vol. i, p. 191.

2. Appendix A, p. 55.

real separation which came after his death.¹

There was some increase in the membership of the Scottish Societies in the years immediately following the ordinations, but no such growth as had been hoped for. The Scottish hatred of prelacy and the Anglican Church forms made it difficult for the preachers who had to administer the Lord's Supper according to the ritual of the Episcopal Church.² Wesley insisted upon this. Some of his preachers

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1. Simon, J. S., Wesley's Ordinations. Proceedings of the Wesleyan Historical Society, vol. ix, pp. 145-154. Wesleyan Magazine, 1845, pp. 105-112. Tyerman, John Wesley, vol. iii, pp. 441, ff. Jackson, Charles Wesley, pp. 719, ff.
 2. In 1785 John Pawson writes: "Dr. Coke intends to be with us Sunday . . . when we are to have the sacrament again; but Mr. Wesley is against us having it in the Scotch form; and I am well satisfied our new plan will answer no end at all in Scotland but will prove a hindrance to the work of God. The people generally hate the very name of Prayer-book and everything belonging to it, as they have always been taught to believe it a limb of antichrist, and very little better than the popish mass-book. Popery, prelacy, and all such things they hold in the greatest detestation." Tyerman, John Wesley, vol. iii, pp. 442, 443.

thought that his insistence was fatal to the success of the new plan, though later developments did not justify their criticism as the Scots took no kindlier to a Presbyterianized Methodism than they did to Wesley's English plan.

One could scarcely expect general unanimity in Scottish opinion as regards Wesley's work. There were many who warmly approved of his work, as there were those who severely criticized it. Later opinions of Wesley are more favourable, as his motives and influence were brought into clearer light through time. In the Methodist Conference held in Manchester in 1841 a Scottish clergyman was quoted as having said:

"John Wesley was the star of the last century which will never set. I have never heard anything at a Methodist meeting either in prayer or speech, which I could not live and die by."

There were many Scottish ministers who could voice these sentiments. A friendly Scottish minister once asked Wesley how his societies were prospering in Scotland. Wesley answered:

1. Gregory, B., Side Lights on the Conflicts of Methodism, p. 316.

Poorly indeed, and on that account I am almost resolved to withdraw the preachers from this part of the island." "You must by no means think of that," said the minister; "you know I have a good opportunity of knowing what is passing in this city, and I believe scarcely a conversion takes place in it but what commences, and is forwarded by, the labours of your preachers."¹

Allowing for a natural exaggeration in the foregoing statement, it may be taken as the opinion of a large number of the clergy of the Scottish Church who found their own parishioners stimulated spiritually through Methodist influence. This accounts for the friendly reception given to Wesley by so many of the clergy, who received him in their homes and opened their pulpits to his preaching. Many of the Scots undoubtedly felt like one of the good Baillies of Inverurie, who said: "I like to go to hear the Methodists; they harrow me up, man, they harrow me up."² Many a good Presbyterian found a warming of

1. Ward, V., Free and Candid Strictures on Methodism, p. 23.

2. C. D., Sketch of Methodism in Aberdeen, p. 32.

his heart at the Wesleyan altar-fires. Though there were plenty to scoff at what seemed to the Scots to be the extravagances of the Methodists, Wesley, their prophet and leader, found in Scotland greater¹ honour than his own country gave him. At Perth he was given the freedom of the city, and later Arbroath did him the same honour. The magistrates in many places not only came to hear him preach, but on occasions made him the honoured guest in their homes. These things are indicative of the respect in which he was held by great numbers of the Scottish people. This was especially true in his later journeys.

While he did not find the scurrility and abuse in Scotland which was his portion in England, he did have detractors who misrepresented his motives. An Account of Methodism in Aberdeen, which was published in 1763, is a curious mixture of fact and misrepresentation. This account accuses him of inveigling people in Aberdeen to sign a paper stating that they had been converted under his preaching. This paper was then used as a proof of his success in that city. He and his preachers were also accused of misrepresenting their method of financing, and Wesley was put in the light of one who wheedled

1. Appendix A, pp. 30, 31, 32.

hard-earned money from the people he duped.¹ These flimsy charges scarce need refutation, yet, they were believed by many in that day. Wesley probably expended more money on the Scottish work than he ever took from Scotland. He expected the Scottish Societies to support themselves as soon as they were able. He wrote Christopher Hopper in 1763:

"Dundee, you say, would be thankful for a preacher. But who would give him things needful for the body? He cannot live upon air; and we now expect that Scotland² should bear its own burden."

From his own scanty store he supplemented the slender income of his travelling preachers in Scotland on many occasions.³ To charge him with "laying Scotland under tribute" is grossly unfair. It is in keeping with the spirit of that day when even good men misrepresented the motives of those who maybe differed from them only in a point of doctrine. Other stories were circulated about his work in London. The Foundery was said to be a factory for runaway

1. Proceedings of the Wesleyan Historical Society, vol. iv, p. 161. Also, Martin's A Few Thoughts, etc., pp. 4, 5.

2. Wesley, Works, vol. vi, p. 786.

3. Tyerman, John Wesley, vol. iii, pp. 273, 507.

servants, gathered there to the detriment of their morals. He and his preachers were accused of stirring up tumult and disorder. "Let not such bold movers of sedition, and ring-leaders of the rabble to the disgrace of their order be regularly admitted into those pulpits which they have taken with multitude and with tumult, or, as ignominiously by stealth."¹ Another accusation levelled at Wesley was that of being extremely egotistical. In a pamphlet published during the controversy with Dr. Erskine the following is quoted:

"A gentleman was beginning to tell one of Mr. Wesley's stories: his neighbour interrupted him with, 'I am sure it is about himself and much in his own favour!' It happened to be so. I think this is characteristic and the chief thing to be noticed in this pamphlet by Mr. Wesley."²

Lady Glenorchy voiced the same criticism when she said: "I have heard him preach thrice, . . . and should have been better pleased had he preached more³ of Christ, and less of himself." One has to take

1. Pike, G. H., Wesley and His Preachers, p. 23.

(Quoted from the Scots Magazine.)

2. Martin, A Few Thoughts, etc., p. 13.

3. Jones, Life of Lady Glenorchy, p. 156.

statements made in eighteenth century polemical writings with considerable caution, and Martin's pamphlet is acrimonious in a high degree. He had nothing good to say of Wesley or his teachings. Wesley, without doubt, drew upon his own experiences in his preaching, and it is easy to understand how Lady Glenorchy, who was growing cool toward the Wesleyans, might seize upon this as a point of criticism. The charge of egotism is usually the first to be hurled at one who is raised above his fellows. It is not a serious crime, even in Scotland "to have a good conceit of one's self."

The best estimate of Scottish opinion of Wesley is to be found in the fact that they came to hear him gladly, and listened with reverence and respect. The abuse and misrepresentation from those who opposed his work serve as a dark background to throw Scottish respect into bright relief. The Scots did not leave their own Church in any great numbers to follow after him, but they honoured him as a Messenger from God. He wrote to William Black after completing his last Scottish journey: "I have just now finished my route through Scotland, where I never had such congregations before . . . "¹

1. Eayrs, Letters of John Wesley, pp. 285, 286.

He made his last journey to Scotland in 1790, the year before he died. Great changes for the better had taken place in the general aspect of the country since his first visit in 1751. Though there were crowds who came to hear him preach, one finds a note of discouragement in his closing comments on the Scottish work. The door had not opened as widely for him as he had hoped, and he found the Scots still a difficult people to understand. His last labour in Scotland was in Dumfries, where he stopped May 31, 1790, on his return to England. The following day he preached to an attentive audience:

"Mr. Mather had a good congregation at five. In the day I conversed with many many of the people; a candid, humane, well-behaved people, unlike most that I have found in Scotland; In the evening the house was filled; and truly God preached to their hearts. Surely God¹ will have a considerable people here."

This is the last record in his Scottish Journal. The hope so often expressed that "God would have a people in Scotland," is voiced again and one feels that it came as a deep prayer as he closed his Scottish ministry. In it there is the discouraged

1. Appendix A, p. 58.

note of one who has seen little result from the years of labour. Nearly forty years had passed since he first trod Scottish heather. During that time he had travelled weary miles; preached hundreds of sermons; counselled and planned for the establishment of his Societies. He had faced the discouragements and borne the heartaches that followed the frustration of his hopes for a great work. He turned southward to his own country his last labour for Scotland ended. He left no large following to carry on his unfinished task, but he had imparted something of the richness of his own spiritual life to the religious life of Scotland, and his labour was not to be in vain. He had given himself without stint, and when he left Scotland to return no more, he could feel that, "he had delivered his soul."

PART III

WESLEYANISM IN SCOTLAND

CHAPTER III

DEVELOPMENT OF MOVEMENT

At Wesley's death there were 1179 members reported in the Scottish Societies.¹ This did not include adherents who were not members of the Classes. Fifteen preachers itinerated with Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen, Dundee, Inverness, Dumfries, Kelso, and Campbelltown reported as Circuits. Campbelltown had but sixteen members and only appeared in the Minutes of 1791.² It is not to be wondered at, that there was grave doubt in the minds of many as to the wisdom of continuing the work in Scotland. It was slow, discouraging toil, and preachers did not go to Scotland with any great enthusiasm. There were exceptions to this, for the testimony of some leading preachers in the Methodist Church speaks their belief in the future of Scottish Methodism and their own joy in the work in that

1. Appendix C, p. 1.

2. Ibid.

¹
field. Yet the general attitude was one of pessimism. Wesley wrote to Lady Maxwell in February, 1770, relative to securing a minister for Lady Glenorchy's Chapel in Edinburgh:

"It will not be easy to secure a converted clergyman. A schoolmaster will be more easily found; although many here are
²
frightened at the name of Scotland."

During the Conference debates (1842-43) anent the advisability of continuing the Scottish work, Dr. Newton said that "men have gone to Scotland of
³
late years as if it was a penal settlement", and this seems to have been a common attitude. The discouragements were many and so tireless a worker as Jonathan Crowther was oppressed by the difficulties in Scotland. He was appointed to Inverness in 1787 with Duncan McAllum and wrote Wesley:

"No man is fit for Inverness Circuit,
unless his flesh be brass, his bones

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1. Gregory, Sidelights on the Conflicts of Methodism, pp. 341, 363.
 2. Eayrs, Letters of John Wesley, p. 408.
 3. Gregory, Conflicts of Methodism, p. 363. Also see Methodist Recorder, October 14, 1881, Letter of Anglo-Scotia.

iron, and his heart harder than the stoics . . . I too shall probably be sacrificed in this miserable corner; and, if I were doing good, I should be content . . . to sacrifice seven lives every year, but to live in misery, and to die in banishment for next to nothing, is afflict-¹ing indeed."

E. Burbeck and J. Keighly were the preachers at Inverness before the appointment of Crowther and McAllum, and when the latter arrived to relieve them they found Burbeck dead, and Keighly dying of fever upon a lousy bed.² One can understand Crowther's attitude in view of these circumstances. John Pawson was,

"fully satisfied that it requires a far higher degree of divine influence, generally speaking, to awaken a Scotchman out of the dead sleep of sin than an Englishman. So greatly are they bigoted in their own opinions . . . mode of church government, and mode of worship, that it does not appear probable that

1. Tyerman, Life of John Wesley, vol. iii, p. 507.

2. Ibid.

our preachers will ever be of much use to that people; and in my opinion, except those who are sent to Scotland exceed their own ministers in heart-searching, experimental preaching applying the truth to the consciences of the hearers, they may as well never go thither."¹

In 1826 Adam Clarke declared that:

"I consider Methodism as having no hold in Scotland but in Glasgow and Edinburgh. If all the other chapels were disposed of it would be little loss to Methodism; and a great saving of money . . ."²

Mr. Bunting in 1835 was equally pessimistic:

"I think if Methodism in Scotland were put up to auction, it would be the best thing that could be done with it, except Glasgow, Edinburgh, Dundee, Perth, and perhaps Ayr. We have spent more money in Scotland than we can account for to God, or to our own people."³

1. Jackson, Lives of Early Methodist Preachers, vol. iv, p. 55.

2. Tyerman, Life of John Wesley, vol. ii, p. 119.

3. Gregory, Conflicts of Methodism, p. 2, 3.

A Methodist preacher who visited Scotland commented to one of the preachers on the dullness and lifelessness of his people under the Word. The preacher's reply was, "What, do you expect to see people converted in Scotland? I have been in this country so long, and I do not know that I was ever the instrument of converting anyone."¹ The pessimistic note was exceedingly strong and yet there were many voices raised in defense of the Scottish work whenever abandonment was suggested. One of the Scottish-born preachers, Peter Duncan, at the Conference of 1843 proposed the abandonment of several chapels such as Perth, Ayr, and Leith. Dr. Beaumont, ably seconded by other ministers who had found labour in Scotland a joy, pleaded that they be given another year's trial. The Conference voted to do this.² A similar victory was won the following year for the preservation of the historic Dunbar Circuit. Dr. Beaumont, Dr. Newton, and Ex-President Scott³ were the leaders in the fight to preserve this work. The fact that Scottish Methodism so frequently was the center of discussion emphasizes how constant a problem it presented for Conference consideration.

1. Ward, V., Free and Candid Strictures on Methodism, p. 36.

2. Gregory, Conflicts of Methodism, p. 34.

3. Ibid., pp. 363, 364.

In studying the membership returns one notes several periods of sharp decline. It is not always easy to determine the particular cause of the decline, but in the main, these causes are apparent. The membership fluctuated but there seems to have been no period when there was any tremendous gain. The first noticeable decline came in Wesley's own ministry when the membership dropped from 892 in the year 1771, to 459 in 1782. This was the lowest figure ever reported. This decline can be accounted for as a result of the antagonism aroused by Erskine's attack on Wesley and the subsequent barring of Wesleyans from the ordinances of the Church. Wesley's ordination of preachers for the Scottish work in 1786 was an attempt to remedy this situation. Though there was no such increase in the Societies as many expected, the losses were stopped and a slow¹ increase came until in 1795 there were 1198 reported. In 1797 Dr. Coke introduced a measure into Conference providing for lay representation in the District meeting and when this failed to secure a majority, a group of Methodists at Aberdeen seceded from the Society. They were led by George Moir, a prominent worker in Methodism in the north. They formed a

1. See Appendix C, pp. 1 ff., for statistical statements.

church on Congregational principles and this was the¹ first Congregational Church organized in the North. The second serious decline followed the unwise building schemes which saddled Scottish Methodism with heavy debts. Reverend Valentine Ward is considered to be largely responsible for this development. In 1819 there were 3,846 members reported to Conference. In 1856 there were but 2,194. The numbers fluctuated in that period, but the trend was² downward. Ward was a vigorous worker, and on his appointment to the Scottish field, he was appalled by the lack of proper chapels. He felt that Methodism did not have a chance to develop so long as the Societies met in private homes or dingy chapels. He also advocated keeping a Society in debt as he felt it kept them alive. He states his views as follows:

"This blessed cause would have been more abundantly successful, but for several formidable hindrances; and I place foremost on the list, a want of suitable places of worship. In Edinburgh . . . we had a dirty, damp, dark, dangerous hole

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1. Ross, A History of Congregational Independency in Scotland, p. 217. C. D., Sketch of Methodism in Aberdeen, p. 22.
 2. Appendix C, p. 1 ff.

which would seat 600 people . . . In Glasgow . . . we had one Chapel somewhat larger and better situated . . . but kept for years in a disgustingly filthy state. In Ayr . . . our people worshipped in a small inconvenient room which had been a stable. In Perth . . . we had a hired room very difficult to find and disagreeable in its access . . . In Dalkeith we had a cold, awkward, forbidding place . . . Dundee . . . a room 49 feet long and 53 feet wide. Nothing but the most lamentable apathy, or absurd prejudice, can long prevent the chapel mania from infecting this place . . . Where we have long had chapels, there has been by far too much eagerness to have them quite clear from burden. Wherever this is the case, as far as I have seen, a general carelessness prevails . . . as keeping the property clean and in good repair. Whereas, where there is a moderate degree of pecuniary responsibility, due attention is excited, and the cause is more warmly espoused and supported.¹"

1. Ward, Free and Candid Strictures on Methodism, pp. 32, 33.

There was much sound sense in what Mr. Ward advocated, but his zeal outran his caution and there is no doubt that he was largely responsible for a serious situation which caused the Conference much anxiety. He built or bought chapels at Glasgow, Ayr, Perth, Greenock, Edinburgh (purchased Haldane Chapel), New Chapel at Edinburgh, Leith, Dumfermline, and Strathkiness in Fife. The Conference took up the problem and in 1829 a committee reported on the Scottish Chapels that "since the embarrassment was so great and could not be relieved in the ordinary way that Reverend Ward should be authorized to make application for donations for this cause from persons in different Circuits who were not subscribers to the regular Chapel Fund."¹ The committee's suggestion was adopted and in the succeeding Conference arrangements were made for appointment of Treasurers to handle the Fund.² In 1831, at Mr. Ward's request, six young men were appointed to work for two months each, collecting funds for this purpose.³ There was a response to the call and Scottish generosity was exemplified when the Edinburgh Town Council made a gift of £3,000 toward the debt on the Edinburgh

1. Minutes, 1829, vol. vi, p. 503.

2. Ibid., 1830, vol. vi, 605.

3. Gregory, Conflicts of Methodism, p. 101.

¹
Chapel. Nevertheless, Scottish Methodism was embarrassed by the over-zealous building schemes, and its numerical strength was lessened. The fact should not be overlooked that had there been strong, enthusiastic Societies they could have borne the burden of debt and prospered. The Free Church and the Congregational Churches faced heavy debts and won through.

There have been those who have attributed the decline in strength to the attitude of the Conference with reference to the "gown and bands". Wesley's preachers in Scotland who were ordained administered the sacraments and wore gown and bands. Two years after Wesley's death the Conference forbade the wearing of gown and bands, and while some thought this was meant to apply only to England the rule was extended to Scotland. The Scots were strongly prejudiced in favour of the ordained minister and the habiliments of his order. It was felt by many that the work was seriously handicapped when the preachers came to Scotland, only as preachers and not as ministers. Evidently the rule was not strictly enforced as far as Scotland was concerned and the matter came up in Conference on a number of occasions. This was especially true in the years 1842 to 1846. In 1842 it was voted to permit the wearing of gown and bands

¹Gregory, Conflicts of Methodism, p. 101.

in Scotland. J. M'Owan, one of the Scottish preachers who had no faith in gown and bands as a remedy, said, "Your gown and bands will do very little toward reviving or relieving. Get rid of the Chapel debts that have done so much mischief and get the people to meet in Class."¹ In the next Conference M'Owan's judgment was confirmed when it was admitted that the situation was not bettered. It was a question again as to whether Scottish Methodism could be furthered by catering to Scottish ecclesiastical preferences. The truth is that measures fail because they do not touch the deep-rooted causes of Methodism's failure to grow in Scotland. Gown and bands, sessions and elders, and all the other Presbyterian externals could not have given Wesleyanism a hold in Scotland. There were certain groups to which it appealed and these held firm, whether the preachers wore gown and bands or not.

In 1843 the Disruption gave rise to the Free Church and the same year the Evangelical Union was formed under the leadership of Reverend James Morison.² These two movements drew largely from the group in Scotland to which Methodism made an appeal

1. Gregory, Conflicts of Methodism, p. 333.

2. See Ross, History of Congregational Independency in Scotland, chapter xiii.

and undoubtedly accounts for part of the decline.

The period from 1870 to 1881 shows a loss of nearly 500. In 1874 the membership was only 3,494¹ as compared to 3,922 in 1870. A correspondence in the Methodist Recorder in 1881 led by W. F. Slater, a former District Superintendent in Scotland, sought to ascertain the reasons for the decline and general failure. From that correspondence one gathers that the attitude of the English preachers who looked upon Scotland as a place of exile, and the fact that Methodism had lost its unique place as the outstanding exponent of Arminian evangelicalism, were vital factors. There is a criticism of the lack of enthusiasm and energy on the part of the Societies; a willingness to accept the fact of their feebleness² as a necessary and inevitable ill to be borne. From 1881 till the present there has been a slow but gradual rise in membership except during the war years, but there has been no phenomenal growth and³ at the present barely numbers 10,000.

in considering the growth of Wesleyanism during the years after Wesley's death, one factor is

1. Appendix C, pp. 10, 11.

2. Methodist Recorder, 1881. Letters W. F. Slater, Gretta, T. J. McCartney, Anglo-Scotia.

3. These figures do not include the Shetlands.

frequently overlooked, namely, the immigration of English and Irish Methodists into Scotland. The great industrial development in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries attracted many English and Irish. This was particularly true in the region where mineral deposits gave rise to the iron and steel industry.¹ The Societies in the West had many accessions from this source as one sees in the problem that developed in the Glasgow Society. The English and Scottish ideas clashed and it created so tense a situation that the suggestion was made to form a separate Society for the English Methodists² as a solution of the problem. When one considers the additions that must have come through the influx of English and Irish Methodists, it becomes apparent that there was even a greater failure of Methodism to attract the Scots, than the statistics indicate.

The Wesleyan preachers in Scotland had more than their share of hardships. The death of Burbeck and Keighley in Inverness has been mentioned. Conditions in the far north were extremely difficult and must have been especially hard for men accustomed

1. See MacKinnon, The Social and Industrial History of Scotland. Mathieson, The Awakening of Scotland, pp. 250 ff.

2. Wilson, Methodism in Scotland, pp. 19, 20.

to the easier conditions of living as found in England. Though men from humble walks in life and unaccustomed to luxuries, they must have found most of Scotland bleak, drear, and poverty-stricken by contrast with their own land. Christopher Hopper describes the "little dark room at Edinburgh, encompassed round with old black walls, disagreeable enough"¹ in which he spent the winter of 1763 and 1764. Yet, that dingy room and its discomforts were undoubtedly far superior to the earthen-floored dwellings of Inverness-shire which served to house the itinerants who travelled that country. The inadequate provision for their support often reduced them to sore straits. Thomas Taylor tells that he was forced to sell his horse to keep from starvation,² and Jonathan Crowther, who had but fifty shillings a year had to spend forty to move from Inverness to Dunbar.³ In 1786 the Society at Aberdeen sought to relieve their pecuniary difficulties, as a letter sent to Mr. Wesley and preserved by the Society, makes clear. The plan presented met with the approval of the Founder:

1. Jackson, Lives of Early Methodist Preachers, vol. i, p. 212.

2. Ibid., vol. v, p. 30.

3. Tyerman, Life of John Wesley, vol. iii, p. 507.

"Reverend Sir,

. . . We desire as far as in our power lies, to do everything for promoting the work, as well as for the comfort of our preachers. First, to borrow money and build a house for them to live in, and, as far as we can, provide a fund to pay the money borrowed; and we think it can be done as follows, viz:- We have heard of the plan adopted by our Dublin brethren of allowing their preachers £40 a year. We would . . . give them weekly 11s, which is £28, 12s a year, and £3 each quarter, which is £12. This makes £40, 12s, and out of this let them provide themselves meat, drink, washing, attendance, coals, candles, letters, etc., and we will provide them lodging and all necessary furniture . . .

. . . Yours affectionately,

Robert Imlach,
¹
 Steward."

Aberdeen 23d, 1786.

In 1794 a new arrangement was made whereby the preacher was to receive 14s weekly in addition to

1. C. D., Sketch of Methodism in Aberdeen,
 pp. 19, 20.

free house and cost of horse when in town.¹ These provisions seem rather generous for that day when one considers the comparative poverty of the Societies. However, Aberdeen in many respects was above the average in zeal for the work, and had substantial members. All the Societies were not as systematic in their financial arrangements and the travelling preachers felt the pinch of poverty on many occasions. There were other difficulties which made the work trying. The extent of the Circuits called for the physical make-up described by Jonathan Crowther, "bones of brass and flesh of iron". In 1784 Matthew Lumb wrote: "I returned to labour in the country between Elgin and Aberdeen, where I found everything disagreeable to flesh and blood, except the kindness of the people."² In the account of the labours of the Reverend Robert Johnson one reads:

"Though Aberdeen stood on the Minutes as a separate Circuit, yet it was united to Inverness, and both were travelled as one Circuit: these places were more than a hundred miles distant from each other.

The preachers had no horse except when

1. C. D., Sketch of Methodism in Aberdeen, p. 20.

2. Ibid., p. 19.

they changed between Elgin and Inverness
 . . . But the long journeys from Elgin to
 Keith, from Keith to Banff, Frazerburgh,
 Newburgh, Aberdeen, etc., were performed
 on foot.¹"

The Northern Circuit, because of the great distances and the bad roads tried the courage of the hardiest. A letter of the Reverend John Brown, Jr., written in 1805 describes the difficulties of travelling the Circuit and the strangeness of the people and their methods of life. He says, "I find nothing the same as in England but God, the Bible, and Religion in those who have it." However, he echoes Lumb's sentiment when he states that, "the affections of the people far exceeded the inconvenience that I met with here."² The kindness of the people of the northern Circuits was almost constant. There were always the scoffers ready to jibe at anything out of the ordinary, and on a few occasions the preachers met with something of the treatment to which they were accustomed in England. Christopher Hopper, who visited Aberdeen as the first Wesleyan minister, 1759-60,

1. Wesleyan Magazine, 1845, Fourth Series, vol.i,
 pp. 110, 111.

2. Proceedings Wesley Historical Society, vol. ix,
 pp. 157, 158.

preached every morning at five o'clock on the Castle-Hill, where "often amid stones and dead animals flying around him he invited his persecutors to flee from the wrath to come with a success that subdued all opposition".¹ It is the glory of Scotland, that such occurrences were rare; and one can scarcely add persecution to the other hardships Wesleyan preachers endured. Long weary miles, often afoot, and in pelting rain or bitter winter wind, they made the round of their Circuit, their lodgings meagre and comfortless too often, and their financial support rarely adequate. These conditions changed as the country developed and as better methods of support were adopted, but in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries travelling preachers were pioneers of Methodism in a very real sense.

An interesting feature of Scottish Wesleyan work was the ministry to the Highlanders. Following the rebellion of 1745, when the clan system was broken, many of the Highlanders drifted from their native glens to the larger cities where they found employment in industries. Their native language, the Gaelic, prevented them from receiving the ministrations so necessary for the development of the spiritual life, and they were a neglected group.

1. C. D., Sketch of Methodism in Aberdeen, p. 4.

In Glasgow and Edinburgh there were places of worship where the Gaelic was used, but in other towns there was no such provision made. When Mr. McNab was sent to Scotland in 1769 he preached to them as best he could. He recognized the opportunity and asked¹ Mr. Wesley to send Duncan Wright, to assist him. Wesley appointed Wright to Scotland and urged him to try to recover his Gaelic that he might preach to the Highlanders. With some effort Wright succeeded, and did a good work among the Gaelic speaking people in Perth, Aberdeen, and other cities. Many of the ministers of the Kirk recognized the value of this² ministry and encouraged the Wesleyans in the work.³ In 1779 Wesley wrote Duncan McAllum and called attention to his value in the Scottish field because of his ability to preach in Gaelic.⁴ It is worthy of note that Wesley had valuable helpers of good Highland stock who were able to minister to a neglected people.

The Conference Minutes do not list all the

1. See Appendix B, pp. 9, 13. Both of these men were Highlanders.

2. Jackson, Lives of Early Methodist Preachers, vol. ii, pp. 126 ff.

3. See Appendix B, pp. 7, 8.

4. Tyerman, Life of John Wesley, p. 293.

places where Methodism has had places of worship. The Circuits are reported, but a number of preaching points were usually included within the bounds of a Circuit, and it is difficult to secure statistical data for the former. A study of the various Circuits gives a better view of the development of the movement, and a brief outline follows of the work as it centered about the leading Circuits. Wherever material is available for the preaching point within a Circuit it is presented. There were many changes made in Circuits, from time to time, as the work developed or was retarded. It has not been deemed necessary to record all these changes as they are found in Appendix D.

Edinburgh and Vicinity

Edinburgh Methodism dates from the visit of Wesley and Hopper in 1751. The Minutes of 1749 show Edinburgh as a Circuit, but no Wesleyan preacher had visited the northern capital at that time. Mr. Hopper organized a small Society in 1751, and it was served by preachers from Newcastle until 1765 when it was organized as a Circuit.¹ In this year the foundation of the first Chapel, the Octagon, was laid, but

1. Appendix D, p. 12.

little is known about it.¹ This is the Chapel which Valentine Ward found so disagreeable and inadequate. This Chapel was sold in 1815 to the Edinburgh Commissioners and destroyed to make way for the bridge² built from Shakespeare Square to Calton Hill. In the Atmore Memoir the statement is made that the Society met in the Barber's Hall. This was in 1786. It is possible that the new Chapel was then being³ built. In 1815, under the leadership of Valentine Ward, a Chapel was built which served the needs of Methodism for a number of years. The latest building, Central Hall, was erected in 1886, when the Edinburgh Mission was established and the original Society took the name of its location, Nicolson Square.

The minutes of 1766 report 165 members in the Edinburgh Society. The lowest point was reached in 1770 when only 62 are returned. In 1929 there was a total of 1997 members in Nicolson Square and the Mission. This is a net gain of 1832 members in 163

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1. Jackson, Lives of Early Methodist Preachers, vol. i, p. 212; vol. v, p. 33. Tyerman gives 1763 as the date, vol. ii, p. 471. Myle's Chronicle gives 1769.
 2. Tyerman, John Wesley, vol. ii, p. 471.
 3. Wesleyan Magazine, 1845, Fourth Series, Vol. i, Part I, p. 107.

¹
 years. The Society in Edinburgh felt the full effect of the Calvinistic controversy since it centered there, and suffered more in proportion. During the middle of the nineteenth century the numbers declined following a withdrawal of a large number of members in 1835. There was a group within the Wesleyan Church, in England as well as Scotland, that felt there should be a lay voice in the deliberations of the Church. The refusal of Conference to entertain such a notion led to withdrawals in both countries. A large group left the Edinburgh Society.² The greatest stimulus to Edinburgh Methodism since Wesley's day came during the fruitful ministry of the Reverend George Jackson, who founded the Edinburgh Mission in 1886 and was for eighteen years one of the strong spiritual forces in the city. The Scottish clergy and the city officials encouraged him in his work, and the influence of his labours is still potent.³ A succession of able men in Nicolson Square and Central Hall has given to Wesleyanism a place of honour in the religious life of the city.

A number of Societies have been closely

1. See Appendix C.

2. Edinburgh Courant, 1835.

3. Hurst, History of Methodism, vol. iii, p. 1446.
Minutes, 1928, p. 258.

associated with Edinburgh, as Musselburgh, Haddington, Leith, and Dunbar. Wesleyanism in the Edinburgh neighbourhood had its beginning at Musselburgh.

This was the first place visited by Wesley, and he¹ preached there a number of times. The work did not prosper, and in 1765 Wesley reports that he found but "few living souls". In 1770 he had some hope that there will be a "blessing on the remnant", but this hope was not realized. The early work there was largely the result of the efforts of pious English soldiers, and the Scots did not take with great kindness to the new preaching. In 1786 Zechariah Yewdall was sent to Musselburgh and found but one person who had any zeal for the work. He gathered a few together but found it "hard work to be always labouring among the dead". He turned his attention to neighbouring points and centered on² Dalkeith. The work gradually dwindled, and Musselburgh is now one of the places in Scotland, often visited by the Founder, which has no Society to serve as a reminder of his visits.

The Conference Minutes do not give the returns for Dalkeith, as the Society there was included with Edinburgh or Dunbar. The work was initiated by

1. Appendix A, pp. 1, 5b, 6, 9, 11, 16, 28.

2. Arminian Magazine, 1795, vol. xviii, pp. 371 ff.

Mr. Yewdall, who grew discouraged with his lack of success at Musselburgh and tried Dalkeith. He was aided in organizing a Society by three Englishwomen, sisters, who had come from Norwich. They succeeded in gathering some twenty into the Society, which met in a ruinous Episcopalian Chapel. Many of the townspeople met with them to hear the preaching, and there was little opposition to the work. The need of a Chapel and the efforts to build one aroused some opposition, and in consequence the congregations dwindled. In May, 1788, the foundation of a Chapel was laid, and in the following November it was opened. In the summer of 1788 Wesley preached in Dalkeith, and his visit encouraged the little¹ Society. It was attached to the Edinburgh Circuit, and as the work developed the third preacher usually² was stationed at Dalkeith. There are but few references to this Society, and at the present time Dalkeith is among those places which no longer have a Wesleyan congregation.

The Dunbar Society is one of the oldest in Scotland and has many associations with the Founder. Methodism was introduced there in 1751 or 1752 by

1. Appendix A, p. 55.

2. Methodist Magazine, 1829, vol. viii, Third Series, p. 73.

pious dragoons who were quartered in the town. They organized a Society and were visited by the preachers stationed at Newcastle. In May, 1757, Wesley visited Dunbar and preached there for the first time. His Journal reads: "I rode to Dunbar. Here I also found a little Society, most of them rejoicing in God their Saviour."¹ He made many succeeding visits and usually found comfort in the work there.² It was first listed as a Circuit in 1767. At the Birmingham Conference in 1844 a recommendation to sell the Chapel and abandon the work was defeated after a spirited fight.³ Alexander Macaulay, a young Scot, was sent there and did an excellent work which was continued by his successors.⁴ It is interesting to note that the Methodist Chapel in Dunbar, built in 1764, is the oldest place of worship in town with the exception of the Parish Church.⁵ Dunbar was the birthplace of a famous Wesleyan preacher, Thomas Rankin. He was converted in the Dunbar Society and later became one of Wesley's valued helpers.⁶

1. Appendix A, p. 5b.

2. Ibid., pp. 6, 10, 11, 16, 17, 22, 24, 25, 28, 37, 41, 44, 46, 52, 55.

3. Appendix B, p. 8.

4. Gregory, Conflicts of Methodism, pp. 363, 364.

5. Journal, vol. v, p. 70.

6. Appendix B, p. 11.

Dr. James Hamilton, a distinguished physician, was identified with the Society there for many years. He joined the Wesleyans because he "could find no people more in earnest for eternal life or whose affections were more fixed on things above".¹

Dr. Hamilton did not separate from the Kirk, but his zeal for the Methodist Society made him one of the most valued members in Dunbar. He was a close friend of Wesley, and the preachers who were appointed to Dunbar found him a warm friend. After Wesley's death he settled in London where he died in 1827 in his eighty-seventh year.² Another interesting layman, active in the Dunbar Society, was Andrew Affleck, who died in 1811 aged eighty-three years. In 1752 he was converted in the Society organized by the dragoons in Dunbar, and though in humble circumstances he made no small contribution to the Wesleyan work there and in the neighbouring territory.³ Many preachers prominent in early Methodism are associated with the work at Dunbar. Alexander Mather, who so profoundly affected Thomas Rankin, and Duncan McAllum, one of Scotland's finest gifts to Methodism, are

1. Parker, Methodism in Scotland, p. 29.

2. Wesleyan Magazine, 1829, pp. 359, 433. Journal, vol. v, p. 460.

3. Methodist Magazine, 1813, vol. xxxvi, p. 73.

among the number. The eccentric Scot, William
¹
 Darney, early visited the city, and Thomas Rankin
 records his disgust at the ranting nature of his
²
 preaching. Darney was not the type of preacher that
 would likely appeal to his own people. The Society
 was never large and in 1881 had dropped in membership
 to 17. In that year it was attached to Edinburgh,
 an arrangement which still holds.

Haddington received several visits from
 Wesley, and he was honoured in the attentions of
 Provost Dickson on his two earliest journeys. After
 the Calvinistic controversy entered Scotland, Wesley
 found a change in Haddington, and he was no longer
³
 welcomed by Mr. Dickson. A little Society was
 organized and was attached to Dunbar, but the work
 did not flourish. In 1842-3, it was reported that
 the preacher at Dunbar had visited Haddington but
⁴
 once in that year. The work has long since been
 abandoned, and Haddington is on the list of vanished
⁵
 Wesleyan stations.

1. Appendix B, p. 4.

2. Jackson, Lives of Early Methodist Preachers,
 vol. v, p. 36.

3. Appendix A, pp. 9, 11, 33.

4. Gregory, Conflicts of Methodism, p. 363.

5. Wilson, Methodism in Scotland, p. 13.

There has been a Wesleyan work in Leith since the day of Wesley. He preached at Leith in May, 1766, and his Journal¹ states that "a few received the truth in love". In 1772 he preached again in the "most horrid, dreary room I have seen in the kingdom".² He located a better room the next day and arranged to have it used as a meeting place. Leith was included with Edinburgh until 1864 when it was formed into a separate Circuit. In 1891 it was again attached to Edinburgh.³ There were 79 members reported in 1865 and 368 in 1929, an increase of nearly 300.⁴ In 1900 J. A. D. MacDonald was appointed to Leith, and his year of ministry resulted in a division in the Society. He was an advocate of the Presbyterianizing of Methodism in Scotland, and when his ideas came into conflict with the Conference, he withdrew and established a separate congregation.⁵ Though there was a slight decline in membership the Society soon recovered and at the present time is doing a good work. Wesley preached at other points in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, Joppa, Ormiston,

1. Appendix A, p. 17.

2. Ibid., 32.

3. Appendix D, p. 24.

4. Appendix C, pp. 9, 17.

5. See MacDonald, Alarm to Methodism.

and North Berwick,¹ but there is nothing to speak of those visits now save the Journal records.²

Glasgow and Vicinity

Glasgow has been the center of the most extensive Wesleyan work in Scotland. This great industrial region naturally would show greater numerical strength than other sections of Scotland. It is surprising that a greater work has not been done in this area, for the industrial sections of England have been centers of great Methodist development. It is not that Wesleyanism did not appear on the ground early enough, for much effort has been expended since the middle of the eighteenth century.

The Wesleyan work in Glasgow was begun by John Wesley, who first visited the city in April, 1753, when he came to Scotland on his second journey.³ In 1757 he gathered a Society together and, though it did not hold out, this year may be taken

1. See Appendix A, pp. 9, 37, 45.

2. The Armadale Society was attached to Edinburgh until 1874 when it was made a separate Circuit. Later it was attached to Wallacestone. A Methodist mission was maintained at Rosyth from 1918 to 1922. In the latter year Edinburgh Mission was given the oversight of this work.

3. Appendix A, p. 2.

as the date for the founding of Glasgow Wesleyanism. In 1765 Thomas Taylor arrived to fan the ashes into flame. He had a difficult task, for he found nothing left of the Society and none to help him. He was an intrepid Yorkshireman who could not be daunted, and he set about to re-establish the Methodist work. He tells of his arrival in the city, and of the opening of his work:

"July, 1765 . . . Preached at Dumfries. Went to Glasgow. There was no Society; no place of entertainment, no place to preach in, no friend to communicate my mind to. I took a private lodging, and gave out that I should preach on the Green, a place of public resort, hard by the city. A table was carried to the place, and at the appointed time I went, and found two baker's boys and two old women waiting. My very soul sank within me. I had travelled by land and water nearly 600 miles to this place; and behold my congregation! I turned upon my heel to go away . . . No one can tell but they who have experienced it, what a task it is to stand in the open air to preach

1. See note, Appendix D, p. 17.

to nobody! More especially in such a place as Glasgow. However, at length I mounted my table and began the singing, which I had entirely to myself. A few more kept creeping together, all seemingly very poor people, till at length I had about 200 hearers . . . The night following I had a more promising congregation . . . The third night we had a heavy rain . . . O what a day of distress this was . . . But God pitied my weakness: the next day it cleared up, and I was never prevented from preaching out of doors for eleven or twelve weeks after."¹

Taylor organized a small Society which increased to fifty, and then arrangements were made by the Society for supporting the work. This was the real beginning of the Wesleyan work in Glasgow, and Taylor's name must be placed high among the founders. When he left to visit Edinburgh there were seventy members in the Society. Taylor found the Scottish field the most difficult one he had tried, but Wesley had made no mistake in selecting him for the work in the North, for he fully justified the faith reposed in him.

1. Jackson, Lives of Early Methodist Preachers, vol.

v, p. 27 ff.

2. Ibid.

The work prospered, and when Charles Atmore and John Pawson were appointed to Edinburgh and Glasgow they found it necessary to arrange for a new Chapel. Mr Atmore laid the foundation October 10, 1786, and it was ready for occupancy the following May. During the ministry of Pawson he took the authority to establish a Presbyterian type of Methodism with elders and a session. Jonathan Crowther found the system when he came to Glasgow and after reporting to Wesley was ordered to return immediately to the rules established for Methodist Societies. Pawson was a faithful preacher, but his ordination undoubtedly gave him a superior sense of his authority, and this coupled with the Scottish prejudices resulted in the establishment of a system which was highly displeasing to Wesley. Nevertheless, Wesley found the Society at Glasgow one which approached the English Societies in warmth and zeal and the work prospered. In 1767 when Glasgow is first reported in the Minutes there were 64 members. In 1771 it was united to Edinburgh, and it was not until 1790

1. Edinburgh and Glasgow were united from 1771 till 1788. Appendix D, p. 7.

2. Wesleyan Magazine, 1845, Fourth Series, vol. i, Part i, pp. 107, 108.

3. See p. 207.

4. Appendix A, p. 19.

that it again appears as a separate Circuit. In that year 300 members are listed. The next decade sees a decline, and in 1801 there were but 141 members.¹ A revival which began about 1804 gave a new impulse, and the membership began to grow.² In 1851 the work had grown to such an extent that a division was necessary, and in that year Glasgow West and Glasgow East are reported in the Minutes. In 1862 they are called John Street and St. Thomas, respectively. Cathcart Road was established in 1863, Claremont Chapel in 1869, Paisley Road, 1875, North West Mission, 1890 (now Central Mission), and East mission in 1911. In 1929 there was a total of 3,552 members in the seven churches. Claremont³ Street reported the largest membership, 1221.

The Wesleyan work at Greenock and Port Glasgow was closely associated with Glasgow Methodism. Wesley preached with considerable success at both places.⁴ Greenock first appears in the Minutes in 1793 when Robert Dall was the preacher. The membership was listed as 32. Greenock was sometimes united

1. Appendix C.

2. Wesleyan Magazine, 1806, pp. 138, 139. Appendix C, p. 2.

3. See Appendices C and D.

4. Appendix A, pp. 29, 34, 38.

to Glasgow, sometimes included with Port Glasgow and Paisley, but since 1844 has been returned as a separate Circuit. In that year it had 84 members and in 1929, 198.¹ The work at Port Glasgow has long since been abandoned.

The present Mission in Paisley was begun in 1896 when a meeting was called to organize a Methodist Church. It was arranged to meet each Thursday evening, and the Glasgow ministers took turns conducting the meetings. The first Sunday Service was held February 14, 1897, and the Reverend H. J. Sugden was the minister. Various supply ministers were sent to take charge of the work until in 1898 it was attached to the Paisley Road Church in Glasgow. In 1902 Reverend W. H. Rolls took over the supervision, and the Mission was made an independent Circuit. A building project was begun, and in September, 1908² the Central Hall was opened. The Mission has prospered, and in 1929 a membership of 766 was reported. There was a Wesleyan Society in the early days in Paisley, and the name appears in the Minutes until 1834.³ Like so many other Societies it dwindled and

1. Appendices C and D.

2. Hawley, John, Historical Sketch of Paisley Wesleyan Mission. (This is a four page leaflet.)

3. See Appendix C.

died. The Paisley Mission is of especial interest as showing the possibilities of such work in the great industrial centers.

We know that Wesley visited Ayr from the entry in his Journal,¹ but he does not appear to have preached there. Duncan McAllum was the first preacher stationed there, and his name appears in 1786. The records for 1787 show a Society with a membership of 55.² Zechariah Yewdall, who visited Ayr in 1790 as a part of the Glasgow Circuit, says of the work there:

"I went to Air; here we found a few serious people, who received us kindly: they were indeed, most of them poor, but sincere and upright. One of the class-leaders was an officer in the army . . . The place we preached in had been a stable, it was about 60 feet long, and a few yards in width and contained a large congregation; but the ceiling so low that my head reached it . . ."³

The revival of 1804 in the Glasgow area was particularly successful in Ayr, and the Society was

1. Appendix A, p. 16.

2. Appendices C and D.

3. Arminian Magazine, vol. xviii, p. 422.

stimulated to a considerable degree.¹ There was at one time a good prospect for Wesleyanism in Ayrshire. Societies were organized at Kilmarnock, Stewarton, Maybole, and Girvan. In 1824 a new Chapel was built at Maybole under the direction of Reverend E. Grindrod,² and a Society of 40 members was reported. The Society at Girvan was organized about 1800 by Mr. Henry Grant, a devout Wesleyan who had been converted in Ireland. The Society was placed under the supervision of the preacher at Ayr, but Mr. Grant was the pillar of the Society throughout his life. He was the father of Girvan Wesleyanism, and he built an enduring work. He died in 1825. The work in Ayrshire is now carried on under the name of the Girvan Circuit. There has been a general decline in strength, and where once a membership of 328 was reported (1835),³ the Minutes of 1929 list but 68.

Thomas Taylor preached and laboured in the territory between Glasgow and Edinburgh. He attempted to establish Societies at Bo'ness, Falkirk, Kilsyth, Linlithgow, and other places. There was little fruit to show for his labour, but seed was

1. Wesleyan Magazine, 1806, p. 138.

2. Wesleyan Magazine, 1825, p. 338.

3. Ibid., pp. 787, 788.

4. Appendix C.

scattered there beyond a doubt. It seems strange that Wesleyanism did not establish itself earlier in Kilsyth. It was a town renowned for its susceptibility to religious influences. Yet it was not until 1827 that any foothold was secured. In that year the Reverend James Cameron began to labour¹ there assisted by Alexander Patrick and other lay workers. The following year Reverend Valentine Ward tried to organize the work, but though the people gathered to hear the preaching there were but three who would unite in a Society. In 1833 they had fifteen members, and by 1835 it had grown to thirty-five. In February, 1835, a revival began, and the Society was increased. In 1839 the revival became general among all the churches and is known as the Kilsyth Revival. These years of intense religious stimulation affected the Wesleyans in particular, and in 1840 there were 166 members in the Society. In 1840 a Chapel was built, and the work was firmly established. Kilsyth was united with Airdrie until 1869 when it was attached to the Wallacestone Circuit. In 1871 it was made a Circuit with Kirkintilloch and Cumbernauld. In 1883-1884 a new Chapel was built. The membership has held fairly steady since the years of the revival and in 1929 was reported

1. Appendix B, p. 3.

as 150.¹

No study of the Wesleyan work in the neighbourhood of Glasgow would be complete without some reference to the labours of Alexander Patrick, the Wallacetown Reformer. He was born in Kirkintilloch in 1792 and in 1821 came in touch with Wesleyan teaching through preachers who that year visited his native village. Previous attempts to establish Wesleyanism in Kirkintilloch had failed, but in this year a congregation was gathered. Mr. Patrick was converted and became an active worker. He had natural gifts which made him an excellent lay-worker. A small Society was formed at Campsie, and he assisted in the work and began to preach. He accompanied Mr. Cameron to Kilsyth in 1827 and helped to introduce Methodism there. From this time on he was active in Airdrie, Kilsyth, Wallacestone, and other neighbouring communities.²

In 1828 he settled near Airdrie and found that the Society had dwindled to eight or nine members. His energy and zeal brought new life, and in 1831 there were twenty-four members in the Society.

1. See Drake's The Wallacetown Reformer, and Anton's, Kilsyth, A Parish History, pp. 287, 288.

See Appendix C also.

2. Drake, The Wallacetown Reformer.

In October, 1841, a new Chapel was finished to accommodate the growing congregations. Until 1845 Airdrie was attached to Glasgow. In that year the Airdrie-Stirling Circuit was formed, and in 1846 there were 588 members. Wallacestone, Coatbridge, and other towns were included in this Circuit, but Airdrie was the center of the work. In 1898 the present Coatbridge and Airdrie Circuit was formed which in 1929 had a membership of 263. The work of establishing Societies in this whole section was under the direction of the preachers from Glasgow, and such men as Valentine Ward, Peter M'Owan, John Drake, John Simon, Dr. Newton, are among the number.¹

The field of endeavour which gave Mr. Patrick his title, The Wallacetown Reformer, was unpromising from all appearance. It was the mining village of Wallacestone, near Falkirk. He began to work in 1842, and in June of that year he had gathered a class of seventy to whom the Reverend John Simon gave tickets. A church was organized, and in the fall of 1843 a Chapel was erected. Mr. Patrick settled in Wallacestone and made it the center of his preaching activities. He soon had 150 members in his Society. The work was established on a firm

1. See Drake, The Wallacetown Reformer, and Appendices C, and D.

basis and owes much to the tireless labour of this splendid lay-preacher. He died March 23, 1848.¹ In 1869 Wallacestone was constituted a Circuit, and in 1887 Armadale was attached to it. In 1906 the Falkirk-Wallacestone Circuit was formed, and in 1911 the Falkirk-Wallacestone-Stirling Circuit. In 1926 these² were separated, and made individual circuits, though the membership returns are reported together. In 1929 the membership was 422. Stirling first appears in the Minutes of 1846, although Wesleyan preachers had visited it earlier.³ Doune is included with Stirling. The Falkirk Mission is first reported in⁴ 1897.

Dumbarton is listed in the Minutes of 1860 with a membership of fifty. This included Alexandria, which does not appear as a separate Circuit until 1888. In 1902-1905 they are reported as the Vale of Leven Circuit, and in the latter year were⁵ transferred to Claremont Street Church in Glasgow. This ended the second attempt to establish

1. Drake, Wallacetown Reformer.

2. Minutes, 1926, p. 25.

3. Jackson, Lives of Early Methodist Preachers, vol. v, p. 32.

4. For statistics see Appendices C and D.

5. Appendix D.

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Wesleyanism in Dumbarton.

Dundee

Wesley once referred to Perth as "the sweetest² place in North Britain, unless perhaps Dundee". He made many visits to Dundee, now a great industrial center, and doubtless found it a fair prospect. His entrance to the city on one visit to Scotland is pictured in the following:

"In the month of May, 1774, an aged gentleman, with long white locks hanging over his shoulders, might have been seen riding along the Carse of Gowrie, a fruitful vale stretching from the Sidlaw Hills to the bank of the Tay. He rides with a loose rein, and has a book open before him, an account of the Gowrie Conspiracy, which he reads intently, yet occasionally raises his head and looks with a poet's eye on the shadowy blue of the distant Grampians, the romantic sweep of the nearer hills, the pleasant variegation of orchard and meadow, and the calm loveliness of the

1. There had formerly been a Society in Dumbarton, but it died out and the organization in 1860 was a second attempt.

2. Appendix A, p. 48.

river. That venerable horseman is John
Wesley, on his way to Dundee."¹

Wesley was on his fourteenth tour of Scotland in May, 1774, and was no stranger in the streets of the city. His first visit was made in April, 1761, as he went through Dundee on his way to Aberdeen. It² was not until May, 1764, that he preached there.

Christopher Hopper visited the city and organized a³ small Society in 1759. Thomas Hanby was the first Wesleyan "to give Dundee a fair trial". He preached there in 1763 and later returned and spent three or four months organizing the work. When he left in November there was a Society with nearly one hundred⁴ members. Wesley was opposed to a preacher remaining too long in one place. He evidently thought Hanby was giving too much time to Dundee, for in September, 1764, he wrote to Christopher Hopper:

"My judgment is this,- That it is best for you to be at Edinburgh before the end of next month, James Kershaw at Dundee, and

1. Marrat, J., Dundee and Its Sacred Memories, City Road Magazine, 1873. See Appendix A, p. 35.

2. Appendix A, pp. 7, 12.

3. C. D., Sketch of Methodism in Aberdeen, p. 3.

4. Jackson, Lives of Early Methodist Preachers, vol. ii, p. 145.

and Tommy Hanby at Aberdeen. If you have either love or pity for him, let him not stay too long at Dundee. His mind is by no means strong enough to bear that weight of applause. At any rate, take him out of the furnace, or he will be consumed. And you well know a change is best for the people, as well as best for him.¹"

Hanby's work in Dundee, nevertheless, gave Wesleyanism an established Society which made the work of his successors much easier. Thomas Taylor, Thomas Olivers, and Duncan Wright were among the preachers who laboured in the early years in this city. Thomas Olivers, who was stationed there in 1766, says:

"In Dundee I laboured comfortably among a poor, quiet, earnest, and happy people. Here I fell into intimate acquaintance with Mr. T., a minister of one of the churches in that town. Our friendly interviews, our Christian conversations, our free and candid debates, together with the kind treatment I almost daily

1. Wesley, Works, vol. vi, p. 787.

received at his house, I shall always
remember with pleasure and gratitude."¹

The first building used as a Chapel was part of what was once the house of the Grey Sisters of St. Clare. Many years later when alterations were made in this building an antique window was found which had an inscription written on one of the panes, "Eternity! Eternity! Eternity! Thomas Hanby, June 21, 1772." Hanby visited Dundee in that year. It is an interesting reminder of a man who did so much for Wesleyanism in Dundee. In 1788 an Episcopal Chapel was purchased and was the Methodist place of worship until the Ward Road Chapel was opened in 1867.² In 1869 the Victoria Road Chapel appears as a separate Circuit, but in 1900 it was reunited to Ward Road. The lowest membership recorded for Dundee was in 1769 when 28 members are shown. In 1836 it drops to 32, but slowly rises until in 1864 there were 200³ members. In 1929 there were 344 in the Society. Dundee Wesleyanism has suffered the same vicissitudes as did most other Societies in Scotland, yet the

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1. Jackson, Lives of Early Methodist Preachers,
vol. ii, p. 83.
 2. Marrat, J., Dundee and Its Sacred Memories,
City Road Magazine, 1873.
 3. Appendix C.

work has gone forward with some degree of steadiness.

Perth

The Wesleyan work at Perth dates back to Wesley's ministry. Wesley first visited the city in May, 1768, expecting to find a lively Society established there, but found scarcely one.¹ He did find the ministers very cordial and the people ready to listen to him. In April, 1772, he was honoured by the Provost, who entertained him in his home, and had the freedom of the city conferred upon him. This was largely due to the influence of the Provost's niece, Miss Meston, who had been converted to Wesleyanism under the preaching of some of Wesley's itinerants. Her story is an interesting episode of Wesleyan history in Perth. She was a leader of the Class, and a strong influence in the early days of the Society. She later married a London Methodist and lived in that city, where she died in 1804. She² is buried in Wesley's City Road graveyard. Thomas Rutherford, who travelled the Aberdeen Circuit in 1774, found dissension had sadly weakened the Perth Society. In 1784 Wesley visited the city for the last time and his Journal reads: "We went to Perth,

1. Appendix A, p. 22.

2. Methodist Magazine, 1886, vol. xxix, p. 129 ff.

now but the shadow of what it was, though it begins to lift up its head.¹ Alexander McNab,² a native of Perthshire, did good work amongst the Highlanders in the city,³ and Duncan Wright,⁴ another Perthshire man, assisted him in this ministry. In the early days Perth was sometimes included with Dundee, and sometimes with Aberdeen. In 1768 there were 24 members reported in the Minutes. In 1809 it appears as a separate Circuit with 30 members. In 1929 there⁵ were 145 members reported to the Conference. It was separated from Dundee in 1923 and made a station with a resident minister.⁶ There was a small Society at Crieff for some years, and the work there was attached to Perth. It is of interest to note that John and Peter M'Owan, the sturdy itinerants who did so much for Scottish Wesleyanism, were natives of Crieff.⁷ There is no trace of Methodism left in this⁸ town.

1. Appendix A, p. 48.

2. Appendix B, p. 9.

3. Ibid., p. 13.

4. Jackson, Lives of Early Methodist Preachers, vol. ii, p. 127 ff.

5. Appendix C.

6. Minutes, 1923, p. 21

7. Appendix B, p. 9.

8. Wilson, Methodism in Scotland, p. 13.

Arbroath

Wesleyanism in Arbroath will always be associated with the name of Thomas Cherry, who in 1768 introduced the movement to this community. He came, like Thomas Taylor to Glasgow, friendless and alone, and preached his first sermon standing at the Abbey Pend. At the close of his first sermon, he was invited to the home of Mr. Milne, a mason, and this house became the regular place of abode for Wesleyan preachers until a manse was built. Cherry's work was very effective. He organized a good Society and 73 members were reported to Conference in 1769. Wesley visited first the town in 1770. He writes in his Journal:

"At seven in the evening I preached at Arbroath. The whole town seemed moved. The congregation was the largest I have seen since we left Inverness; and the Society, though but of nine months standing is the largest in the kingdom, next that¹ of Aberdeen."

In 1771 the Society secured a Chapel site from the Town Council and the Patrons of Carmichael's Mortification. This was in Ponderlaw field, and on the

1. Appendix A, p. 27.

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site a Chapel was built. Wesley opened the Chapel in May, 1772. He was honoured in Arbroath with the freedom of the city at the time of this visit. The fullest co-operation seems to have been given the Wesleyans, both by the ministers and the magistrates, cordiality which Wesley fully appreciated. Thomas Cherry did not live to see the work go forward. He died shortly after the opening of the Chapel. He had worn himself out in preaching and labour. Wesley writes in May, 1772:

"I took Thomas Cherry away with me; but it is too late. He will hardly recover. Let all observe (that no more preachers murder themselves), here is another² martyr to screaming."

As to the good effect of Cherry's work in Arbroath there can be no doubt. Wesley's opinion, though somewhat biassed, gives an idea of the influence exerted by this untiring evangelist. He says of this same visit:

"In the evening I preached in the new

1. Myles lists a Preaching House in Arbroath in 1770. It was probably a rented building. See Myles Chronicle, p. 81.

2. Appendix A, p. 32.

house at Arbroath. In this town there is a change indeed! It was wicked to a proverb; remarkable for Sabbath-breaking, cursing, swearing, drunkenness, and a general contempt for religion. But it is not so now. Open wickedness disappears; no oaths are heard, no drunkenness seen in the streets. And many have not only ceased from evil, and learned to do well, but are witnesses for the inward kingdom of God, 'righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost'.¹"

Wesley had no disparaging words for Arbroath. May, 1776, his Journal has this entry:

"I returned to Arbroath, and lodged at Provost Grey's . . . I have hardly seen such another place in the three kingdoms as this is at present. Hitherto there is no opposer at all, but everyone seems to bid us God-speed."²

In 1784 he says of the Society:

"I found this to be a genuine Methodist

1. Appendix A, p. 31.

2. Ibid., p. 40.

Society. They are all thoroughly united
to each other; they love and keep our
Rules . . .¹"

This was high praise for a Scottish Society, as
Wesley did not find them zealous in keeping all the
²rules.

Until 1810 Arbroath was a part, either of
the Aberdeen, or the Dundee Circuit. The Conference
Minutes of 1811 shows a membership of 50, which in
the next few years increased to nearly twice that
number. A secession in 1825 nearly killed the
Society, as only six male members were left. The
Church slowly recovered from this blow, but it was
³crippled for many years. Arbroath and Montrose have

1. Appendix A, p. 48.

2. See: Hay, History of Arbroath, chapter vii, pp.
254, 255. McBain, Arbroath, Past and Present,
pp. 30, 31.

3. This secession came when a popular local preacher,
John Graham, was refused admittance to the ranks
of the regular ministry of the Church. He was
married, and there was a rule which required a
preacher to serve for some time as a single man.
Graham (joined) a Church called the Original Relief
Association, and took most of the Wesleyan Soc-
iety with him. Hay, Arbroath, p. 249.

usually been linked as one Circuit. In 1921 they were united as the East Coast Mission. In 1929 the membership of this Circuit was 248.¹ The work in Montrose has been closely identified with the Arbroath Circuit and had its beginnings early in the nineteenth century. From 1910 till 1914 Arbroath and Montrose were attached to Blairgowrie. The latter place first appears as a Circuit in 1885. The following year there were 33 members reported, and in 1929 it had 40.² There is little material available relative to Methodism in this town.

Brechin was the birthplace of Alexander Mather,³ one of Wesley's ablest preachers. In 1758 he was stationed at Newcastle and visited his native town where he preached a number of times. Wesleyanism was thus introduced to Brechin by a native son.⁴ Wesley first preached there in May, 1763, and made a number of visits in later years.⁵ He found a good friend in Mr. Blair, the minister of the Established Church and was welcomed into his home and Kirk.

1. Appendices C and D.

2. Ibid.

3. Appendix B, p. 10.

4. Jackson, Early Methodist Preachers, vol. ii, pp. 159, 177.

5. Appendix A, pp. 10, 12, 18, 24, 31, 58.

Brechin received visits from the early itinerants and a Society was established at a fairly early date, for Myles lists a Preaching House at Brechin in 1769.¹ It appears as a separate Circuit in 1794 and 68 members were reported the following year. In 1818 when it was united to Arbroath it had 126 members.² By the middle of the century Wesleyanism had disappeared from Brechin, as it had from many other Scottish towns.

Aberdeen and the North

There has been more interest manifested in Wesleyanism in Aberdeen and the neighbourhood than in any other part of Scotland. As a result there is more data from which the history may be gleaned than in other sections of Scotland, though even here it is by no means complete. Wesleyanism in Aberdeen is usually dated from the arrival of Dr. Memyss, who came from Wrexham, Wales, about 1747. He was a Methodist, but united with the Church of the Reverend John Bissett, a strong evangelical preacher. In 1758, Mr. Bissett died and Dr. Memyss, who felt the need of strong evangelistic preaching in Aberdeen, urged Wesley to send a preacher. Christopher Hopper came in 1759 and organized the work in Aberdeen and

1. Myles, Chronicle, pp. 28 29.

2. Appendices C and D.

Peterhead. In 1761, Wesley made his first visit,¹ and came many times in later years. He enjoyed Aberdeen and its people who gave him and his work a cordial reception.

Among early preachers who succeeded Hopper were J. Kershaw, W. Fugill, Thomas Hanby, and James Thompson. The latter was the first to appear upon the Minutes, 1765. No preacher did greater work than Duncan McAllum,² who was a greater man in the eyes of Scottish Methodists than Wesley himself. He served the Aberdeen Circuit many years: 1776, 1778, 1783, 1784, 1789, 1790, 1798, 1799, 1812-1814.³ He was scholarly, a good preacher, and earned the respect of all classes.

The Society prospered. In 1791 there were 286 members, and in 1811 it had grown to 370.⁴ In this latter year Aberdeen was the only self-supporting Circuit in Scotland. Until 1764 the Society met in various buildings, but in this year they built

1. Appendix A, pp. 7, 10, 13, 15, 18, 23, 26, 31, 36, 38, 40, 42, 44, 49, 53, 57.

2. Appendix B, p. 7.

3. See Appendix D.

4. This would include Inverurie and other nearby stations.

the Octagon Chapel in Queen Street. In 1818 an Episcopal Chapel in Longacre was purchased and served as a place of worship until 1873 when the present building in Crown Terrace was erected. In 1845 the Reverend George Scott was appointed minister, and under his leadership the Church was enabled to recover from a severe depression due to financial difficulties. Under this ministry the Society grew in membership and influence. The early Aberdeen Circuit was a wide one, including Arbroath and Montrose to the south, Inverness to the north, and preaching points at Stonehaven, Brechin, Inverurie, Old-Meldrum, Newburgh, Peterhead, Banff, Keith, Elgin, Buckie, and other places. Sometimes Perth and Dundee were included. Inverurie is the only Society which has been continuously associated with the Aberdeen Circuit from its beginning.¹ Aberdeen was the center of Wesleyan influence for a wide area in the North East, and has remained throughout the period, a stronghold. In 1905 Aberdeen was made the head of the North of Scotland Mission Circuit, which had been formed in 1901. In that year Aberdeen² reported 250 members.

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1. For Methodism in Aberdeen consult Appendices C and D, and Sketch of Methodism in Aberdeen by C.D.
 2. See Appendices C and D.

Methodism in Inverurie has an early beginning. Rutherford mentions a visit to Inverurie in 1773¹ "where Dall and others had occasionally preached." Wesley preached there in May, 1776, and again in May, 1779.² He found them "a plain, loving people". Their first Chapel, a thatched building was erected in 1787. It was enlarged in 1819, and in 1868 the present Chapel was built. Prior to 1817 there was no regular visitation of preachers, but about that time a resident preacher was appointed. The Society has never been large, but has had considerable³ influence in the life of the community.

Christopher Hopper established a Society at Peterhead in 1759. It was attached to Aberdeen until 1817 in which year it was made a Circuit and so appeared until 1828 when it was again attached to Aberdeen. From 1877 until 1901 it was separated from Aberdeen, and in the latter year was made a part of the North of Scotland Mission. In 1818 it reported 28 members to Conference. The membership rose to 116 in 1821 and then dropped to 32 in 1828. In 1877 there were 81 members and in 1901 there

1. Methodist Magazine, 1808, New Series, vol. v, p. 485.

2. Appendix A, pp. 40, 44.

3. C. D., Sketch of Methodism in Aberdeen, pp. 31 ff.

1
 were 69. Peterhead is of interest to students of Scottish Wesleyanism, as the home of James Turner, the Peterhead Cooper. In the middle of the nineteenth century he began his evangelistic labours, which set the East Coast ablaze. He was a member of the Wesleyan Church, and a local preacher. His success was marked in the fisher villages, especially along the Banffshire Coast, and the effect of his labours still persist. He was successful in resurrecting Wesleyan Societies in a number of places, but most of his preaching helped to enrich other churches than his own. He evangelized in Cullen, Portknockie, Findochty, Portessie, Buckie, Portgordon, Huntley, Inverness, Aberdeen, Peterhead, and other places.
 2
 He died February 2, 1863.

At the opening of the nineteenth century, Wesleyanism was represented in other places in the North of Scotland, as Banff, Buckie, Keith, Elgin, and Inverness. There is no trace of the work in Keith or Elgin today, but along the coast of Banffshire there has been a splendid development. Frequent revivals since Turner's day, have kept the
 3
 work vigorously alive.

1. Appendices C and D.

2. See McHardie, James Turner.

3. Swift, W. F., The Romance of Banffshire Methodism.

A preacher was first stationed at Keith in 1779. The Society was attached either to Inverness or Aberdeen. In 1776 Wesley preached in Keith to a large congregation.¹ He found "a little Society organized" but sorely distressed as they were in danger of losing their meeting-house. The owner was threatening to sell it, and under the circumstances, Wesley saved it in the only way possible, by buying it.² In 1779 he again visited Keith where he was warmly welcomed by the parish minister, Mr. Gordon.³ In 1782 his Journal records, that: "We received a pleasing account of the work of God in the North. The flame begins to kindle even at poor, dull Keith."⁴ His last visit was in 1784.⁵ The resident minister was withdrawn in 1809, and after 1827 the use of the Chapel was discontinued. It was later sold, and with it vanished all vestiges of Methodism in Keith, save the back of Wesley's pulpit which adorns the wall in the Museum of the Public Institute.⁶

1. Appendix A, p. 39.

2. Proceedings Wesleyan Historical Society, vol. ix, pp. 155-158. Appendix A, pp. 39, 40.

3. Appendix A, p. 42.

4. Ibid., p. 46.

5. Ibid., p. 49.

6. Swift, Banffshire Methodism. Also Proceedings Wesleyan Historical Society, vol. ix, pp. 155-158.

Methodism in Elgin was attached to Inverness in the early days. It was not until 1814 that Elgin and Keith were formed into a Circuit. In 1822 the Circuit was linked with Banff, but by 1828 the work had completely died out.¹ Wesley had said of the work in Elgin, "I do not despair of good being done even here, provided the preachers be 'sons of thunder'".² Like so many of his hopes for Scotland, this one also failed of realization.

Banff

Wesley visited Banffshire five times, his first in 1764. He was prevented from preaching by a severe storm, and it was not until May, 1776, that he preached in the town. Lady Banff of Forglen was helpful to him and on a number of occasions entertained him in her lovely home.³ Robert Dall and Thomas Rutherford were among the preachers who visited and laboured in Banff in the early days.⁴ A Society was formed there as early as 1777, as a letter to Robert Dall indicates:

1. Swift, Banffshire Methodism, pp. 30-32.

2. Appendix A, p. 51.

3. Appendix A, pp. 13, 39, 49, 57.

4. Methodist Magazine, 1808, vol. v, pp. 485-8.

"Banff, Jan. 1, 1777.

Dear Father in the Lord.

The Society has been stationary ever since you left us. We are often neglected.

Lately we had only one visit in eight weeks. . . . Wm. and Isabel McPherson."¹

Banff first appears in the Minutes of 1794, and in 1795 reports a membership of 170.² It was usually listed with Aberdeen or Inverness so it is not easy to trace the growth of its membership from the Minutes. The Society in its earlier years probably met in the home of William MacPherson, a weaver, who seems to have been the leader of the group. For many years they met in a building which had once been the Laird of Auchmedden's town house. In 1820 they built a Chapel in Reid Street. During the years 1848 to 1851 the Society met in the Masonic Hall in Castle Street, or the Court House. In 1851 a second Chapel was built with a manse attached. It was in this Chapel that James Turner held his revival meetings in 1860. In 1879 a new Chapel was built in Seafield Street. There have been ministers stationed at Banff since the late eighteenth century. It was usually attached to Inverness, but in 1809 the Banff

1. Swift, Banffshire Methodism, p. 25.

2. Appendices, C and D.

Circuit was formed. This arrangement lasted until 1901. The Banff Wesleyan Church is the only Society in Banffshire which has had a continuous existence since Wesley's day. In 1901 there were 63 members reported in the Minutes. The North of Scotland Mission was formed in that year, including Peterhead,¹ Portessie, Buckie, Banff, and Port Gordon.

Wesleyanism flourished in Buckie in the earlier years following its inception in 1779. From 1813 till 1834 a minister was appointed to this station, but after 1835 the Society had died out. The reason for its decline has been assigned to the prevalence of smuggling, and habits of intemperance which led to the dropping from the rolls of many members. Wesley's rules were very strict in this respect. Financial difficulties no doubt contributed also. The Society was brought to life in 1860 through Turner's work, and Wesleyanism again took its place in the community. In 1907 a new Chapel was opened, an indication of the vigour of the movement. From 1903 till 1925 the Church was served by a Home Mission Evangelist, but in the latter year² Reverend John R. Reid was appointed resident minister.

1. See Swift, Banffshire Methodism. Also Appendices C and D for statistical material.

2. Swift, Banffshire Methodism, pp. 24, 35, 36, 57, 58.
Appendix D.

Turner's work was fruitful and Wesleyan Societies were established in other villages along the coast. Eleven of Turner's converts at Portessie formed a Society which continued to grow. In 1864 the Reverend Thomas Major was appointed to the work there, and in 1866 a Chapel was completed. The Portessie Circuit was formed in 1876 and included Port Gordon, Buckie, and Cullen in addition. The Port Gordon Society was organized in 1869 as a result of the Portessie revival.¹

Cullen Methodism will always be associated with the name of "Findlay". In the early nineteenth century there lived in Portknockie a poor widow, Mrs. McGillander, who earned a living by selling fish in the neighbouring villages, Cullen among the number. She was a devout Methodist and suffered much persecution for her testimony to her faith. In 1811 her daughter Ann married George Findlay, a young fisherman of Cullen who had been converted at the Wesleyan services held in the home of Mrs. McGillander in Portknockie. Findlay organized a Society in Cullen which met in his house, and the work progressed until in 1820 they were able to build a small Chapel. This Society was not so profoundly influenced by Turner and his work as the other coast

1. Appendix D.

towns, and after the middle of the century it dwindled until but one remained. In 1903 a revival fanned the Methodist flame, and the work sprang up again. A Chapel was built in 1905, and the first sermon was preached by Dr. George Gillander Findlay, grandson of the founder of Cullen Methodism. Since 1905 the work has been taken care of by ministers who work under the direction of the Home Mission¹ Committee.

Banffshire Methodism furnishes one of the encouraging signs in Scottish Wesleyanism, but it is significant that this work is among the fisher-folk who in many ways are different from the landward Scots. There is a good Methodist work at Findochty, which had its beginnings in the Turner revival.

Inverness

In May, 1764, Wesley made his first visit to Inverness. Mr. Fraser, the parish minister, received him cordially, and he preached in the Parish Church. The people of Inverness impressed him by their earnestness and reverence. He found this to be true in his later contacts with them, and his Journal has many words of praise. He made three other visits to² Inverness in the years 1770, 1779, and 1784.

1. Swift, Banffshire Methodism, pp. 40, 43, 56-57.

2. Appendix A, pp. 14, 26, 42, 50.

Benjamin and William Chappel founded Methodism in this city. Wesley says of them in his Journal, 1770:

"They had met a few people every night to sing and pray together; and their behaviour, suitable to their profession, had removed much prejudice."¹

Duncan McAllum was another faithful labourer, and in 1779 Wesley wrote him, relative to arrangements for carrying on the work:

"Inverness should by all means be a circuit by itself, including as many towns as you please, north and south. I wish you would think of it and send me the plan to London."²

This letter was addressed to Mr. McAllum at John Watson's, Slater, Inverness. Following Wesley's suggestion, Inverness was made a Circuit in 1779 with Mr. McAllum and Jasper Robinson as ministers. Banff, Keith, Elgin, and Buckie were attached to it. At various times it was attached to Aberdeen, but in 1800 was permanently separated. In 1779 the membership was 42, and in 1929 it was 151.³

1. Appendix A, p. 26.

2. Tyerman, John Wesley, vol. iii, p. 293.

3. Appendices, C and D.

Methodism once flourished in Old Meldrum,
²
 Nairn, Newburgh, and Fraserburgh, but has long since
 vanished.

Kelso

Turning from the North to the Border we find
 a Society established at Kelso in the early years.
 In May, 1757, Wesley visited Kelso to find only an
 indifferent reception. In May, 1782, he was again in
 the community where he was entertained by Dr. Doug-
 las. Two years later he had a splendid congregation
 despite the efforts of two ministers of the Secession
 Church to discourage the people from attending.
³
⁴
 Somerville records another visit in June, 1790, but
 there is no indication of this in the Journal. Mrs.
 Planche, a sister of Dr. Douglas, was responsible
 for starting the Wesleyan work in the town. She was
 converted in London but removed to Kelso after the
 death of her husband. She united with the Society

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1. It was visited by Wesley, and in 1775 Rutherford
 states it had a lively Society. See Wesleyan
Magazine, vol. v, p. 486. Appendix A, pp. 13, 39.
 2. Wesley said it had the liveliest Society for its
 size in Methodism. Appendix A, pp. 46, 51.
 3. Appendix A, pp. 5b, 47, 52.
 4. Somerville, Life and Times, p. 253.

at Alnwick and urged Mr. Hunter, the Wesleyan preacher, to come to Kelso and establish a Society. Wesley approved of the plan and Mr. Hunter preached¹ there and began the work. In 1791 it appears on the Minutes with a membership of 31. After 1797 it was² included with the Berwick Circuit. It also appears³ on the Myles List of towns having a Preaching-House. The work dwindled and died in the first half of the century.

Dumfries

Robert Dall is the founder of Dumfries Methodism. He was stationed there in 1787, and when Wesley visited the city May 13, 1788, he records:

"Robert Dall soon found me out. He has begun building a preaching house, larger than any in Scotland, except those in Glasgow and Edinburgh! In the evening I preached abroad in a convenient street on one side of the town . . . At five (A. M.) I was importuned to preach in the preaching house; but such a one I never saw before. It had no windows at all, so

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1. Arminian Magazine, 1791, vol. xiv, p. 416, ff.
 2. Appendices C and D.
 3. Myles, Chronicle, pp. 28, 29.

that, altho' the sun shone bright, we¹
could see nothing without candles."

He wrote to Dr. Coke the Sixteenth of May, "There is a fair opening at Dumfries, and a prospect of much good work."² In 1789, Z. Yewdall, who was appointed to the Glasgow Circuit, which included Ayr and Dumfries, found the latter town "one of the most pleasant towns in Scotland". He speaks of the new Chapel as "not large but neat, and agreeably situated with four rooms at one end tolerably well furnished for the residence of a preacher". The Society had³ about 40 members. Wesleyanism made considerable progress, and was especially prosperous from 1800 to 1825. Removals of leading families caused the work to decline. About 1867 the Episcopal Chapel in Buccleugh Street was purchased and houses the Society³ today. Since 1895 it has been under the charge of the Chairman of the Carlisle District with a resident lay preacher in charge. In 1900 there were 56 members reported.

1. Appendix A, p. 54.

2. Eayrs, Letters of John Wesley, p. 181.

3. McDowall, History of the Burgh of Dumfries, pp. 821, 822.

4. Appendix D, p. 9.

The Shetlands and Orkneys

Methodism found a foothold in the Shetland and Orkney Islands early in the nineteenth century. Adam Clarke was largely responsible for the initiation of this work. He interested Robert Scott, Esq., of Pensford, who gave liberally in support of the preachers and in the erection of Chapels.¹ Reverend Samuel Dunn, and John Raby were the first ministers appointed and began to work in 1822. The Minutes of 1825 report a membership of 512, with stations at Lerwick, Walls, Sandness, and Northmavin. The labours of these missionaries were arduous in the extreme, but fruitful of much good.² In 1929 there were 1311 members with four Circuits, Lerwick, Walls, North Roe, and North Isles.³

In Caithness, and the Orkneys a work was begun about 1833. Reverend Robert Harrison preached at Wick in 1816 and 1817 but did not form a Society. In 1833 Donald Brochie, a local preacher from Inverness preached in this town so that Methodism was not a new gospel when ministers were sent in 1831. These men came in response to a call from the

1. Clarke, Autobiography, p. 543.

2. See Correspondence in Wesleyan Methodist Magazine in the years 1825 ff.

3. Appendices C and D.

fisher-folk of the Islands. While they were nominally cared for by the Kirk, in actuality they were neglected. Reverend John Knowles, who was stationed at Lerwick in the Shetlands volunteered for the new field on condition that he might have Reverend Thomas Collins as his companion. These two men started the work in 1836, and the response was encouraging. Dr. Knowles itinerated through the Isles while Collins established a good work at Stronsay. Collins later itinerated, but it was decided by the Conference to concentrate on Wick and Stronsay. Collins did a splendid work in Wick, but he also visited neighbouring points. His influence was felt for years after the Societies had vanished. In 1838 he returned to England. In 1841, the work was abandoned as the Conference felt that it was unwise to expend energy on a field occupied by the Kirk and other churches.¹ Orkney and Wick appear in the Minutes from 1836 till 1841. In the former year there were 146 members reported, and in the latter but 78. The highest membership was attained in 1838, the last year of Collins' ministry there.² In 1856 Collins visited Wick and was warmly welcomed by

1. See: Beaton, Ecclesiastical History of Caithness, chapter ix. Coley, Life of Thomas Collins.

2. Appendix C.

members of his old flock:

Sandy MacPherson, Hector Sutherland, and John MacPherson met us at Wick. They told me that of my old flock some have gone to the Kirk, some to the Free, and some to the Morisonians; but that all their hearts were warm to Methodism still, and they long for us back again."¹

In view of the success among these fisher-folk, one can but wonder at the wisdom in abandoning a field where Methodism was making an appeal.

In this brief review of the development of Wesleyanism in the Circuits, one thing is plainly evident, and that is, the gradual abandonment of work, especially in the rural districts, and the concentration in urban centers. There is a long list of places which once had a Society that is now gone: Brechin, Kilmarnock, Crieff, Cupar, Dunfermline, Elgin, Keith, Hamilton, Kelso, Melrose, Port Glasgow, Fochabers, Old Meldrum, and others.² A few places have had the work re-established as at Paisley, and the stations on the Banffshire Coast. The problem of the future of Methodism in Scotland, is one that

1. Coley, Life of Collins, p. 400.

2. Wilson, Methodism in Scotland, p. 13.

is engaging the attention of leaders of the work in that country, and of the British Conference as a whole. . Some have suggested its withdrawal except in the larger centers like Glasgow, Edinburgh, and Aberdeen. The solution of this problem does not come within the scope of this study, but it does appear that the most successful work is that carried on by the Mission Halls and among the fisher-folk, and the future of Methodism in Scotland may be determined by that factor. The causes which retarded the movement have come in for much thought, and the chapter which follows will deal with this phase of the movement.

PART III

WESLEYANISM IN SCOTLAND

CHAPTER IV

SLOW ADVANCE OF MOVEMENT

No religious body has been more vigorous in expanding than the Wesleyan Church. In 1929 it numbered over half a million in Great Britain, while Ireland with a large Catholic population, had an additional thirty thousand. Yet, Scotland, a strong Protestant country with an intensely religious spirit, had less than ten thousand members.¹ This did not include adherents, which would bring the figures up several thousand, nor the Shetland Isles. Nearly two centuries of labour had failed to establish Methodism in anything like a reasonable strength. In the previous chapter the movement has been traced, and in the study the slow growth and lack of fervour is easily perceived. There was little of momentum to carry it forward, and the note of pessimism and discouragement is sounded with a regularity that speaks of a task beyond the powers of the struggling

1. Minutes, 1929, p. 411. Appendix D, p. 17.

Societies. The question arises now, as it has many times in the past, as to the reasons for the feebleness of Wesleyanism in Scotland. There was no lack of sacrificial labour or courage either in the early days or in the years that have followed, and great praise is due the preachers who have pioneered in Scotland with the Wesleyan message. One senses a lack of assurance in their attitude when North of the Border, which was not true when they were in England.

The question raised as to the reasons for the slow advance is often answered too readily to express the entire truth. There are many reasons given which are superficial. Incidental, or contributing factors, are given as fundamental causes for the retardation of the movement. A perspective view of Scottish religious and political development, gives a more satisfactory and complete explanation.

No group of men have been more interested in the problem than the Wesleyan ministers who have served in Scotland. Their judgment is deserving of deepest respect, for they were in close contact with the real problems of the work. At the same time it must be remembered that conditions varied from time

to time, and in various places, and an opinion formed relative to the difficulties in the late eighteenth century in Glasgow might not be pertinent to a situation in the far North in the mid-nineteenth century. The real retarding factors are those which obtained in general throughout Scotland in the full period of Scottish Wesleyan history. Other factors are contributory and have a bearing and as such will be noted.

Wesley's own opinion has been indicated.¹ He felt that Methodism was failing to hold its place because of the failure to carry out the Methodist plan in full. His attitude toward the Scots has been given as a reason for the failure of the Societies to develop. He insisted on the full Methodist plan, and his dictum that he would "serve the Scots² as we do the English, or leave them", is a declaration that there would be no compromise at that point. He opposed every attempt to establish a Presbyterian³ type of Methodism in Scotland. There have been others who have agreed that this plan was the only logical one and that if Methodism could not win a place through its distinctive plan and program, it

1. See pp. 201, 202.

2. See p. 202.

3. See pp. 202 ff, 209 ff.

had no place in Scotland. In the discussion relative to the Dunbar Circuit in the middle of the nineteenth century, one leading minister said:

"Our fault in Scotland has been . . . the not carrying out the true Methodism of oversight, experience, and discipline. Look to this and there will be no need to withdraw ministers or weaken Methodism in Scotland."¹

The question was raised again and again as to the advisability of adapting the Scottish work to Scottish prejudice. Wesley did not intend that this should be done, and he took an autocratic attitude which did not help his cause in Scotland. The Scots do not readily take to innovations, and his system was largely new and foreign to their own methods. There were places where a relaxation in favour of Scottish prejudice might have materially helped the work without impairing the efficiency of his system. Methodism's greatest opportunity in Scotland was in the days when Wesley's presence gave dynamic force to the work. Failure to develop in those earlier years made later success extremely doubtful. One can but wonder what effect a conciliatory attitude on the part of Wesley might have had.

1. Gregory, Conflicts of Methodism, p. 363.

The fact that the movement was introduced largely by lay-preachers is another suggested reason. The Scottish respect for the ministry is well known. The great objective of the Kirk from its earliest days was a highly trained and educated ministry. The regard for the sacred office of the ministry is nowhere higher than in Scotland.¹ It was not only Wesleyan lay-preachers who had difficulty in Scotland. The Haldanes found much opposition because of their use of lay-preachers.² Scottish prejudice is very strong at this point and still persists.³

A complaint of many was to the effect that inferior preachers were sent to Scotland. Such preachers found themselves at a serious disadvantage in competition with the well trained Scottish ministry. It was claimed that only the young and inexperienced preachers could be secured for the Scottish field, and that even the Scottish Wesleyan

1. Address to the Methodists, p. 10.

2. Ross, History of Congregational Independency in Scotland, p. 73 ff. Mathieson, Church and Reform in Scotland, pp. 87, 88. Cunningham, Church History of Scotland, vol. ii, p. 409.

3. The lay-preacher in charge of the work at Dumfries in 1929, told the writer he found his lack of ordination a very real handicap in his work.

preachers preferred English Circuits. If this was a general condition obtaining in Scottish Methodism, there can be no question but that it would be a very serious handicap. The validity of this complaint will be noted later.

Scottish Methodists were inclined to think that their problem could be solved through the establishment of a Scottish Conference. It is argued that Wesley had such a plan in mind when he ordained preachers for the Scottish work, and that if it had been followed out Scottish Methodism would have developed along the lines of Scottish tastes and a greater appeal would have been made. It is pointed out that this was done in Ireland, and that Wesleyanism in America developed along different lines from the British movement.

2

In the early nineteenth century an argument appears due to the heavy debts placed upon Scottish Methodism through unwise Chapel building. There can be no question as to the deadening effect of debt upon a struggling movement. Heavy burdens were placed upon the Societies, largely due to Valentine

1. Address to Methodists, pp. 7, 8. Ward's Structures, pp. 32, 33.

2. Parker, Methodism in Scotland, pp. 27, 28.

Wilson, Methodism in Scotland, p. 20.

Ward's activities. This made the work very difficult, and discouraged the membership. The Scottish Methodists were for the most part humble folk, and poor. Their means were limited, and the burden of supporting a preacher was not a light one. A Chapel building program was an undertaking to daunt the bravest. Small wonder if under the discouragements due to heavy debt, the weaker Societies fell by the way. One should not overlook the fact that Scottish Wesleyans made many sacrifices and their Chapels represent heroic giving. When the Aberdeen Society built the Crown Terrace Church in 1873, the membership gave without stint as the following quotation will indicate:

"Never a wealthy congregation, the magnitude of the scheme might well have caused them to hesitate before embarking upon it; . . . The comparative poor of the congregation gave and collected one-fourth of the whole, and the spirit of the movement is seen in the case of a poor member who as a dying request, directed that her shawl, fender, and some other articles should be sold and the proceeds given to the building fund to pay a promise made

by her, a request which was fulfilled by
her mother who was a Roman Catholic." ¹

Such sacrifices were not uncommon. Yet the fact remains that heavy financial responsibilities were placed upon the Scottish Societies at a time when such obligations were peculiarly discouraging.

Serious study of the foregoing causes makes clear that they are in part superficial. A cause for the retardation of the work in one place might have no bearing on the situation in a different locality. The Edinburgh Methodists might prefer a minister in gown and bands, while the fishermen of Buckie would not bother to question a minister's ordination so long as he warmed their hearts. Those causes which affected the movement in general are the real factors involved. Thus, Wesley's attitude toward the Scots which involves the question of the adaptation of Methodism to Scottish ecclesiastical prejudice can scarcely be considered as a fundamental cause. There have been adaptations of the Methodist system to conform to Scottish tastes as in the matter of re-appointment of ministers to the same Circuits. The rule was that a minister should be absent from a Circuit eight years before returning to it, but this was relaxed in the case of Duncan McAllum and other

1. C. D., Sketch of Aberdeen Methodism, pp. 27, 28.

ministers who served in Scotland. Similar concessions were made later.¹ The sacrament in Scottish Wesleyan Churches is administered in the Scottish fashion, and Psalms are sung. Today, one could scarcely see a difference between a Wesleyan Church service in Scotland and one in a distinctive Scottish Church.² Yet these measures have brought no such improvement as was hoped for.

The matter of lay-preachers is closely linked with the foregoing argument. When Wesley heeded the demands of his followers who saw Methodism retarded through the lack of ordained ministers, he took steps to remedy the lack by the ordination of preachers for Scotland.³ There is no question as to the wisdom of this decision, as the Scots could not be attracted in any great numbers by men who were not set apart, through ordination, for the Lord's work. This prevented a serious loss which threatened the Societies, and for a time brought some accession of strength, but as a remedial measure for the whole problem it failed. Gown and bands did not bring the

1. C. D., Sketch of Aberdeen Methodism, p. 23.

Minutes, 1929, p. 292.

2. Parker, Methodism in Scotland, p. 26. Ward, Strictures, p. 33.

3. See pp. 206 ff.

Scots to the Chapels, though it gave the preachers a better standing in ecclesiastical circles.

It is not so easy to determine the quality of the preachers sent to Scotland. No doubt there were many who were inadequate for the work and its demands, and the Scottish field was not attractive to many itinerants. It had the name of being a hard field, and the reputation was justified. There were those who had pleasant memories of their labour in Scotland, nevertheless, though they were not numerous. In the debate over the Dunbar Circuit in 1843, Dr. Newton referring to the attitude of many of the preachers toward Scottish appointments, said: "I¹ will go to Scotland gladly if you will let me."

Dr. Newton was a leader and an able man. The roll of preachers of the Scottish Circuits reads like a list of Methodist celebrities, for many of the outstanding Wesleyan ministers saw service in Scotland. It has been alleged that though able men served in Scotland, they remained too short a time to do effective work.² Yet there are men like John L. Drake, and Henry J. Pope, and others before and since, who have given years of remarkable service in Scotland.

Though feeble men may have jeopardized the work in

1. Gregory, Conflicts of Methodism, p. 363.

2. Ward, Strictures, p. 32.

certain periods and certain sections, it is not true that in general the Conference was negligent in this respect. The itinerants in Scotland measured up very favourably with those serving in England. It is certainly true that today Wesleyan ministers in Scotland are able to hold their own with the ministers of any of the Scottish Churches. Yet the work does not go forward and Scottish Methodism remains a problem. Scotland has served as a training ground for many of the ablest Wesleyan ministers, and it is well said, that:

"Scotland has been to Methodism at large what Britain was to the Roman Empire, and what the Indian Empire has been to Britain,--the training ground of her¹ ablest soldiers."

Could the establishment of a Scottish Conference have given Methodism a firmer hold in the North? The arguments are plausible. It is argued that such an arrangement would have made possible the training and retention of a native ministry which would be able to understand the needs and problems of the field. Further, that Scottish interests would have been consolidated and Methodism made a Scottish

1. Edinburgh Scotsman, March 2, 1891.

institution. Also, that Scottish problems could have been solved by Scots in the interest of Scottish Wesleyanism, and English interference would have been eliminated.¹ However, the Wesleyan movement was never sufficiently virile to establish such a Conference. In 1881 Mr. Slater, who had been Chairman of the Edinburgh District, said that there was not a single Scotchman in the ministry of the Scottish Circuits. In the earlier years there were many serving in Scotland, but Scotsmen in the Wesleyan ministry were frequently the most pessimistic about the future of their church in their native land.² Without a native ministry and the means, it would not have been possible to establish a Conference with sufficient strength to stand alone, and the British Conference has been a source of strength to the Scottish work rather than a hindrance. It is evident that any attempt to establish a Conference must have failed in the light of the militating factors against Scottish Wesleyanism.

Financial difficulties can hardly be considered as a factor, since these difficulties grew out of the weakness of the movement. Had Methodism in Scotland been vigorous the finances would have taken

1. Wilson, Scottish Methodism, p. 10. Parker,

Scottish Methodism, p. 27.

2. Gregory, Conflicts of Methodism, p. 341.

care of themselves. The Conference came to the rescue frequently, and much money was expended in the North. By heroic efforts Chapel debts were reduced and crushing burdens lifted, but the work did not make any phenomenal progress after these accomplishments. There were Independent Churches which succeeded in establishing themselves in the face of heavy financial responsibilities. These Churches grew in strength and constitute a goodly number today.¹ Financial distress did hinder the work, but must be regarded as an indication of a condition rather than as a cause.

A number of causes contributed to the slow pace with which Wesleyanism grew. Such a movement needs the energizing presence of the leader, and Wesley could give but little time to Scotland. The Scots honoured him and had he been able to give more time to the Scottish work, success might well have been greater. Wesley did not average one visit to Scotland in two years.² That is scarcely sufficient supervision to make for thorough establishment. There is no fault to find with his able and conscien-

1. See Ross, History of Congregational Independency in Scotland.

2. Appendix A.

tious assistants, some of whom had a large measure of success. Yet, in general, they did not command the attention which he did. It is conjectural, but reasonable to suppose that this was a factor in slowing the advance.

The average Scot has stressed teaching in religion and has been slow to take up with any religion which stresses fellowship. Religious experience is a personal matter and his natural reticence in such matters makes the Methodist emphasis rather distasteful. The Class-Meeting has always been difficult to establish for this reason. Thomas Taylor found this to be true:

"The Scots are naturally shy, and suspicious of strangers; and anything in religion that appears new, or not agreeing with their established forms, they are exceedingly jealous of. Hence class-meeting has the appearance of novelty, and has often been suspected to border upon the Popish auricular confession of sins . . . hence very many in Scotland have been startled at it and very loth to engage in it."

1. Jackson, Early Methodist Preachers, vol. v, p. 34.

Taylor's observation is borne out in the objection of Dr. Erskine:

"If the Methodist teachers confined themselves to preaching, there might be some room for this plea; but hardly can this be pled, when they form bonds or classes, where measures are followed offensive to many judicious Christians. Could they not be witnesses to Christianity, without that inquiry into one another's religious experiences, which Christ has never enjoined, either as a moral duty, or a means of grace."¹

Erskine's view represents the typical Scottish attitude. In the Hull Conference of 1848, this was recognized as a serious problem when the chief cause of the decline in Scotland was given as an unwillingness² of the people to meet in Class. This feature of the Methodist system repelled many who might otherwise have been attracted.

The deep-rooted Calvinism of Scotland is the cause most frequently suggested for the impotence of Wesleyanism in that land. It is true, without doubt,

1. Erskine, Mr. Wesley's Principles Detected, p. 241.

2. Gregory, Conflicts of Methodism, pp. 426, 427.

that in the earlier years, the Arminianism of the Methodists was a deterrent. The first real set-back came with the Calvinistic controversy and Erskine's¹ attack on Wesley. M'Crie says:

"This timeous republication, under the high sanction of Dr. Erskine's name, of a vindication of gospel truth, written in a beautiful Christian spirit seldom exemplified in polemical warfare, not only served to defend amiable Hervey, but inflicted a blow on Wesleyanism from the effects of which in spite of triumphs in England, it has not recovered in Scotland² down to the present day."

Wesley's Arminian teachings did not find a ready response among the Scots. In the nineteenth century Thomas Collins had an experience which illustrates how hard the old creed died. He succeeded in interesting a poor woman in Wesleyanism and he called upon her to advise and instruct her in his faith.

1. See pp. 191 ff.

2. M'Crie, The Story of the Scottish Church, p. 487. See also Stephen, History of the Scottish Church, vol. ii, p. 522; Grub, An Ecclesiastical History of Scotland, vol. iv, p. 72.

She had seven children and he besought her to "bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord, for all their immortal souls are precious in the sight of the Saviour". This was fatal. She exclaimed, "All precious to God! No one, out of so many, reprobated? Impossible! What heresy!"

Collins had no more influence after that interview.¹

This view was extreme, to be sure, but it is an indication of the general attitude. This made a barrier in the earlier years that was very difficult to overcome. This barrier is now removed as Arminianism is common to all Scottish Churches, and it is significant that in the nineteenth century there were Churches with strong Arminian tenets that made rapid progress while Wesleyanism languished.²

Calvinism was in the earlier days, at least, a contributing factor in slowing the advance.

Scotland did not persecute the Wesleyans. Had they persecuted them as was done in England a blaze might have been kindled, that would have thrown a stronger light for the movement. Indifference is the hardest foe to face, and civil

1. Adamson, The Religious Anecdotes of Scotland, pp. 225, 226.

2. The Morisonian Church. See Ross, History of Congregational Independency in Scotland, chapter xiii.

indifference is what the Wesleyans met in abundance in Scotia. There was comparatively little animosity exhibited toward Wesley or his followers. There was no parson, or squire to urge on mobs. Occasionally, as at Arbroath¹ a minister opposed, but it was rare. Despite his known Arminian tenets, the parish ministers as a whole gave Wesley courteous treatment, and in many cases, encouragement. Mobs in England, made converts. Decent, reverential, Presbyterian audiences, came, heard, and went away, decent, reverential Presbyterians. Scotland's glory was Methodism's despair. She accorded the Wesleyans the courtesy of a respectful hearing, and the movement languished in their indifference.

Discouragement begets pessimism; failure begets doubt; and pessimism and doubt went side by side with many preachers who crossed the Border from England.² Would there have been greater progress if there had been more faith and enthusiasm? It is problematical, yet, the psychological effect on preachers and people was without doubt a retarding influence.

In considering the fundamental causes for

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1. M'Bain, Arbroath: Past and Present, pp. 30, 31.
 2. Gregory, Conflicts of Methodism, p. 363. Address to Methodists, pp. 7, 8.

Methodism's failure to make greater progress in Scotland, it is necessary to approach the problem from the angle of Scottish religious and political development.¹ Methodism was a national movement in England. It grew out of deep spiritual need and adapted itself to the national character. The system as developed was adaptable to the spiritual needs in some other countries, and as such had a generous development outside of England's bounds. In Scotland the case was different. To say that Scotland had no need of Wesley's message would be untrue; but it is a fact that there was less need for it there than in most European countries. For two centuries the interests of Scotland had been religious rather than political. It was not until a few years before Wesley crossed the Border, that political events became of equal importance with religious developments. For that reason there was a commonalty, deeply religious, and well grounded in theological matters. Religious fervour engendered through the long struggle of the seventeenth century, ran as a deep current in Scottish life. Wesley's message came to an England that was heart-hungry for the Word of Life, and the results of his preaching

1. See Part II, chapters I, II.

2. See Part II, chapter II.

were startling and immediate. Naturally, there was rapid growth and enthusiasm. In Scotland, while there was some formalism and cold morality, there was a people alive to the truths of religion, and in many of the pulpits a strong Evangelical ministry which lessened the need for the Wesleyan message. Scotland had by no means reached to any degree of perfection, and vital Christianity needed constant emphasis, but as a whole the nation had a spiritual vigour far superior to most countries in that day. The religious history of Scotland, before, and since the day of Wesley's first entrance to the country, has been a primary factor in limiting the power of the Wesleyan movement. What Wesley had done for the religious awakening of England, had already been done in Scotland through her own religious virility, and Wesley's movement had little nourishment North of Tweed.

The eighteenth century saw the rise and decline of the Moderates, as it witnessed the struggle between the Moderates and the Evangelicals within the Church. In this contest the mass of the people were firmly behind the Evangelicals.¹ The Secession under the Erskines in the 'second quarter of the century furnished a religious harbourage for

1. See chapter ii, Part II.

the most deeply evangelistic group in Scotland, one to which the Wesleyan movement might well have appealed, and deepened the spiritual force of the Evangelicals within the Kirk. This was manifested in the Cambuslang revival which came under Evangelical leadership. Later Secessions, such as the Relief Church, furnished additional spiritual¹ impulses.

In the latter part of the century the Haldanes began their great evangelistic work throughout Scotland.² From this intense religious movement Congregationalism grew and flourished. This had the effect of lessening still further the group to which Methodism could make an appeal in Scotland. It also affected the membership as there were secessions from³ Methodism which enriched the Independent movement. Congregationalism offered to those Scots who were dissatisfied with Calvinism, or the lack of warmth in the Kirk, a Church which preserved historic polity and order combined with warmth in religion.

The second quarter of the nineteenth century found new evangelistic impulses surging within the

1. See chapter ii, Part II.

2. Ross, History of Congregational Independency in Scotland, chapters v to x.

3. C. D., Sketch of Aberdeen Methodism, p. 22.

Scottish Churches as a whole. There was a breaking up of the rigidity of the old theology, and when in 1843 the Disruption gave rise to the Free Church under the leadership of men like Dr. Chalmers and Dr. Bonar, Scottish religious life had a new source of strength. As the Scottish Churches approached the Wesleyans in evangelical warmth, the latter lost their distinctive and unique character which was their best hope for success.

Presbyterianism has been so identified with Scotland and its religious development as to make it an axiom that all Scotsmen are Presbyterians. The Scottish struggle for the establishment of a Church based on democratic principles, especially as related to the calling of a minister, became so closely allied with the national life that a Scotsman's patriotism bound him in loyalty to the Kirk.¹ The Kirk and the Nation were one and this is the dominant note through years of Scottish history. Melville's famous address to King James VI illustrates this:

"There are two kings and Kingdoms in Scotland; there is Christ Jesus the King, and His Kingdom is the Kirk, whose subject King James VI, is, and of whose

1. Stark, Lights of the North, p. 246.

Kingdom he is not a King, nor a lord, nor
¹
 a head, but a member."

The Kirk was paramount and the right of the individual was linked with its establishment. The struggle against episcopacy which engaged the energies of the Scottish people in the seventeenth century, deepened Scottish attachment to the polity and order of Presbyterianism. The basis of Presbyterianism is its democracy. One writer says:

"The Scots simply will not suffer despotism in the government of the Church. The Presbyterian polity with its Kirk-sessions, Presbyteries, Synods, and Assembly is formal, elaborate, sometimes tedious, but it is democratic from foundation to coping-stone, a marvellous combination of order and dignity with
²
 popular rights."

It was Wesley's autocratic methods which ran counter to this strong prejudice in Scotland. The sacred right of calling a minister had been contended for too earnestly to be easily surrendered, and Wesley did

1. Henderson, Religion in Scotland, p. 23.

2. Berry, Scotland's Struggles for Religious Liberty, p. 81.

not consult congregations in regard to the preachers he sent. That was not his method. The struggle over Patronage had passed through an acute stage just prior to Wesley's first visit and it was to appear again and again.¹ Scottish Methodists did not always relish Wesley's methods. He had difficulty with Alexander M'Nab and the following letter gives Wesley's views:

"Jan. 1780.

I drew up a few plain rules . . . and permitted them to join me on these conditions. Whoever, therefore violates these conditions, particularly that of being directed by me in the work, does ipso facto disjoin himself from me. This Bro. M'Nab has done (but he cannot see that he has done amiss); and he would have it a common cause: that is, he would have all the preachers do the same. He thinks 'they have a right to do so'. And so they have. They have a right to disjoin themselves from me whenever they please . . . Do you not see then, that Bro. M'Nab was as wrong as wrong could be? It was a blow at the very root of Methodism."²

1. See pp. 121 ff.

2. Eayrs, Letters of John Wesley, pp. 125, 126.

That was the difficulty, for the 'root of Methodism' was the antithesis of the Scottish conviction. It is not strange that Scotsmen should look askance upon an organization which had a virtual Pope at its head. Gown and bands; learned and eloquent preachers; all these were insufficient to overcome the handicap of this system of Church government so foreign to their own belief and practise.

Another part of the Methodist system which touched the strong Presbyterian prejudices of the Scot, was Wesley's itinerant system. His absolute¹ insistence upon this plan has been noted. While he lived preachers would itinerate in Scotland as elsewhere. He did not consider it good for preacher or people to have a man in one place too long. A settled ministry is the ideal of the Scot, and long pastorates are not unusual. An old lady who had been a member of the Society at Newburgh said that the chief reason for the demise of that Society was that they had no resident minister. Rural Methodism might have been preserved if there had been a different system. The tendency was for the preachers to center their attention on the work in the Church at the head of a Circuit, to the neglect of the² outlying points. Local preachers could not supply

1. See pp. 201 ff.

2. Correspondence in Methodist Recorder, Oct., 1881.

the deficiency for the Scots have no enthusiasm for ministrations from laymen. The Conference relaxed the strict rule on itinerancy for Scotland, after Wesley's death,¹ but relaxation is not sufficient. A settled ministry is the only satisfactory arrangement for the average Scottish congregation. The itinerancy has been a real barrier to success in Scotland, and added to the other features of the Methodist system which came into conflict with Scottish loyalty to Presbyterianism, constitutes a fundamental reason for its failure.

Methodism was an alien movement in Scotland and remains so to this day. Its English origin and leadership stamped it as alien, though England and Scotland had been united for nearly fifty years when Wesley came to the North. The failure to progress in Scotland cannot be understood apart from the long history of racial antagonisms and misunderstandings. The first point of significance is the long struggle for independence, when Scotland dared to match her strength against her powerful neighbour. Years of struggle brought victory, but not peace. Constant warfare to maintain what had been so dearly won, created those deep-rooted animosities which die so slowly. No Scot, worthy of the name, ever forgets

1. Minutes, 1929, p. 292.

those long years of strife and their significance. It accounts for the fervid patriotism of the Scot which has become proverbial.

"All the old insults and humiliations which our nation had suffered at the hands of the southern oppressor, all the terror and bloodshed that were endured, all the valor that was displayed in victories and defeats alike, made our ancestors more and more deeply attached to, and proud of their land. ¹."

Pride in their own land, and suspicion of England became Scottish national traits. Political events in the eighteenth century did not draw the nations together. Though the design was to obliterate the boundary line, it did not succeed. No period in Scottish history shows such intense loyalty to national traditions, and such bitter hatred of Eng-²land as in the struggle for the Union. Ancient wrongs and insults were remembered, and old animosities revived in this period of tense racial antagonism. The Union was seen as the extinction of the national life so dearly bought. Subsequent

1. Henderson, Religion in Scotland, p. 37.

2. See pp. 73 ff.

events increased, rather than diminished this feeling of bitterness, and it was not until after the "Forty-five" that any real approach was made to a union of the two peoples. Much of this was superficial, as deep down the old feelings persisted. The English attitude was not conciliatory, and the Scot received plenty of abuse, and much of contempt from his southern partner.

It was not alone political history which had created bitterness, but in the years following the personal union of the crowns, constant attempts were made to foist the Episcopalian Church upon the Scottish people. There was, consequently, a hatred and dislike of prelacy and all it represented.

The barriers to Methodism raised through racial bitterness and antagonism has been minimized, doubtless in the interests of greater harmony. Scots and English are brothers in a Greater Britain and old enmities should die. This is well and good, but the facts remain. Prejudices are easily aroused today as many an English preacher has found. In a letter written to the Methodist Recorder in 1881, and signed "Anglo-Scotia", this statement is made:

"The use of the word British instead of English seems a small matter to us, but

it makes all the difference if a speech or sermon is acceptable to a Scottish congregation or not . . . let the minister, whoever he be, be in thorough sympathy with his people, and be careful not to offend their prejudices, and there is no reason why we should be a 'feeble-¹folk'."

The difference between the word British and English is of paramount importance to the Scot. It means the recognition of his national history and independence, and he jealously guards this as a precious heritage. It speaks too, of the lightly slumbering antagonism that exists. Racial antipathies die hard, and this is true in Britain. Good sense and practical necessity have brought Scots and English together as a British nation, but the lapse of years has not succeeded in stifling Scottish nationalism or loyalty to the past. When one considers that Wesley came to Scotland in those years immediately following the period of most intense rancour, and that this antagonism persisted through his own century and into the next, one can see that a barrier was erected which would be difficult to overcome. It did not manifest itself in discourteous acts or

1. Methodist Recorder, 1881. Letter Anglo-Scotia.

open expression, but consciously or unconsciously it¹ was there.

The chief causes for Methodism's retardation in Scotland are, the vigour and virility of Scottish religious life which left scanty nourishment for an alien sect transplanted to its soil; the intense loyalty of the Scots to Presbyterian polity, and the consequent aversion to a system like Wesley's which was based on autocratic control and the use of an itinerant system; and, the deep-rooted antagonism of the Scot to England and its institutions which characterized the age long relations of the two countries. Wesley's infrequent visits, the temperament of the Scot which was averse to display of religious emotion, Calvinism, and the pessimistic attitude of the Wesleyan preachers, were contributing causes. These factors were sufficient to retard a vigorous movement anywhere, and in Scotland the retardation is all too evident. There were financial difficulties, and a failure to recognize Scottish viewpoints which at specific times and places played a part, but they can scarcely be considered as primary causes. There is no one particular factor that is solely the cause, but rather a combination of factors

1. See pp. 79, 89, 91-98, 101, 102. Stark, The Light of the North, pp. 246, 264.

which made Wesleyanism's normal advance in Scotland, impossible.

Yet, Wesleyanism cannot be said to have failed. Its influence has been out of all proportion to its size, and the chapter which follows will briefly indicate the nature of that influence.

PART III

WESLEYANISM IN SCOTLAND

CHAPTER V

WESLEYAN INFLUENCE IN SCOTLAND

A service of great significance was held in St. Giles Cathedral, Edinburgh, March 2, 1891. This service was in commemoration of the centenary of the death of John Wesley. The historic building was thronged and many were unable to find room. The Lord Provost, Magistrates, and Town Councillors were in attendance, and the University was represented by Principal Sir William Muir and other members of the Senatus. Among the prominent clergymen who participated in the service was the Reverend Professor Marcus Dods. The service opened with the singing of 'All hail the power of Jesus Name'. How the vaulted aisles rang with the great Wesleyan hymn! In this service the great Founder of Methodism was fittingly honoured for his notable contribution to the Kingdom of Christ.¹ The service is of greater significance because it was held in a country where Wesleyanism

1. Edinburgh Scotsman, March 3, 1891.

had made less progress than in any other English speaking land into which it had gone. No fact speaks more eloquently as to the influence the movement had, than this service in the Scottish Cathedral, which honoured his name and lauded his work.

Wesleyan influence in Scotland was very largely indirect, but there are specific results which are apparent. The Sunday evening service is now accepted as a regular part of the day's program in Scotland, but before the advent of the Wesleyans the Kirk had only morning and afternoon services. Wesley originated the early morning and evening services in order to avoid conflict with the usual services of the Anglican Church. This was a new departure and proved so successful that he made it a part of his system.¹ In time the other churches adopted the evening service, and it has become the regular custom.

The use of hymns in the Scottish Church of today is due to the influence of Wesleyanism. The Methodists sang their way into the hearts of many peoples who had resisted every other approach, and though Scotland was harder to win even its grim adherence to the exclusive use of the Psalms, capitulated at length to Wesleyan hymnology. Thomas Taylor raised his voice in song and the people

1. C. D., Sketch of Methodism in Aberdeen, p. 24.

gathered to hear him. Even in the early days there was no difficulty in getting the Scots to listen to the hymns but they would not bring them into a regular service until well into the nineteenth century. On Wesley's second journey he attended service in Dr. Gillies' Church in Glasgow, and he records, that:

"After sermon he prayed and sang again, and concluded with the blessing. He then gave out one after another, four hymns which about a dozen young men sang. He had before desired those who were so minded to go away; but scarce any stirred¹ till all was ended."

Dr. Gillies was a staunch Evangelical, much beloved by his people, but he did not dare to introduce hymns into a regular service. The after-service, where hymns were sung, may have served as an introductory method to accustom the people to hymns in the Church. The singing of hymns was an innovation and the people who listened to them in a Methodist Chapel or on the Green, would not have them in the Kirk. Yet, the Wesleyan hymns have won their way into the life of the Scottish Church, and the Presbyterian Hymnal is an eloquent testimony to the

1. Appendix A, p. 3.

1

influence of the Wesleyan movement.

Methodism had no small share in the development of the Sunday School movement in England. In Scotland it is equally true. Lady Maxwell was, without doubt, the first to take a real interest in this work in the North. She organized a number of schools, and met with considerable opposition, as is evident from a letter written to Alexander Mather in 1787 which says: "The people of Scotland are not fond of them, but I mean to give them a trial."² The Haldanes were particularly active in founding Sunday Schools. In 1797 they founded sixty, and the General Assembly of 1799 in a pastoral letter warned their people to avoid all connection with these institutions established by irresponsible people.³ During the nineteenth century the Sunday School movement took a firm hold in Scotland. Valentine Ward criticized the Scottish Methodists for failure to interest themselves in this work, and possibly in⁴

1. C. D., Sketch of Methodism in Aberdeen, p. 24.

Butler, Wesley and Whitefield in Scotland, p. 217.

2. Lancaster, Life of Lady Maxwell, p. 325.

3. Cunningham, Church History of Scotland, vol. ii, p. 407, 408. Ross, History of Congregational Independency in Scotland, p. 280.

4. Ward, Strictures, p. 34.

his day there was no great activity among the Wesleyans along this line of endeavour. Yet, the introduction of the movement and its encouragement in the earlier years came from the followers of Wesley.

Scotland may well view with pride the achievements of her brilliant sons in the mission field. Livingstone, Duff, Moffat, Paton, are just a few of Scotia's soldiers of Christ who have achieved valiantly in many fields. Yet, the Scottish people were slow to appreciate the necessity of missionary endeavour. This may have been due to their conviction that religion was a personal matter, and one should leave the welfare of his neighbour's soul, to the neighbour. The dynamic in Methodism was its missionary zeal and interest in the spiritual welfare of others. There can be no question but what the Wesleyan movement played an important part in arous-¹ing Scottish sentiment to an interest in missions.

Wesleyanism was active in every movement for religious and moral development. It has been well said, that: "though but a small weapon, in every² battle against wrongdoing, its stroke is straight."

1. Edinburgh Scotsman, March 2, 1891.

2. Ibid.

This was particularly true of the Temperance movement. Wesleyan leaders took an active interest in promoting this reform. One has but to read of the activities of Alexander Patrick, the Wallacetown Reformer, to see how effective a lay-preacher could be in promoting this work. He organized many Temperance Societies, and at Airdrie in particular, did¹ a very good work.

The following quotation indicates another influence of Methodism:

"It is a curious fact, which has not yet been marked in any publication with the notice that it deserves, that the extirpation of these narrow prejudices so prevalent among the Presbyterians in Scotland, and the introduction and more rapid progress of a catholic spirit, were promoted to a great degree by the conversation and preaching² of the celebrated George Whitefield."

This could be said with equal truth of Wesley and

1. Drake, The Wallacetown Reformer, p. 48.

2. Somerville, Life and Times, p. 65. Mathieson, The Awakening of Scotland, p. 228. Lecky, History of England, vol. iii, p. 109.

his preaching. These two men came to evangelize, not to dispute; and aside from the unfortunate dispute into which Wesley was brought through the publication of Hervey's Letters by Dr. Erskine, there was little of controversy. The fact that two men, priests of the Anglican Church, could preach acceptably in Scottish Churches had the effect of breaking down the antagonisms which had been so strong. Wesley preached in many pulpits, and the tolerant attitude of the friendly Scottish ministers is a notable thing in this century. When Wesley preached in Dr. Gillie's Church in Glasgow in 1753, he commented as follows:

"So Dr. Gillies desired me to preach in his Church, where I began between seven and eight. Surely with God nothing is impossible! Who would have believed, five-and-twenty years ago, either that the minister would have desired it, or that I should have consented to preach¹ in a Scotch Kirk?"

This was to be no novelty to him in his later journeys, for Scottish kirks were opened to him practically everywhere. The coming of Whitefield and Wesley

1. Appendix A, p. 3.

did go a long way toward ushering in the new era of fraternalism amongst the various Churches. Wesley's followers emulated his tolerant spirit, for in the days when the Free Church was being organized the Wesleyans contributed liberally to aid them.¹ The broader spirit has become more apparent with the years.

Mr. Butler speaks of the John Wesley of Scottish history, and the John Wesley in Scottish religion.² This is a good distinction to make. The Wesley of Scottish history played a small part as this study has indicated. The John Wesley in Scottish religion is a more commanding figure. There is little factual data to present in support of this statement, and one must build largely upon opinion. The general verdict is to the effect that Wesleyanism deepened Scottish religious life. This study has made clear that Scottish religion was much more virile and intense than in most European countries in the eighteenth century. Yet, in Scotland there was always the danger that externals might overshadow the deeper verities of religion. The situation as affected by Methodism has been well stated

1. Gregory, Conflicts of Methodism, pp. 316, 363.

Minutes, vol. ix, pp. 555, 556.

2. Butler, Wesley and Whitefield in Scotland, p. 221.

in the following:

"The flame of Godliness was kept alive by sectaries whose thoughts, by force of fate and circumstance, were occupied largely with patronage, the covenants, questions of heterodoxy, and the like, and among whom faith was in danger of sinking to a mere acquiescence in certain statements of fact and opinion. Suddenly there appeared in the midst of this too self-contained, somewhat blear-eyed generation, the dust of whose controversies had almost hidden the face of the Saviour, two men whose souls had been set on fire at the altar of the Holy Ghost . . . who called men in accents, clear, thrilling, unmistakable to repentance, faith and Godliness, who represented religion not as an exercise in dialectics, but as a union of the soul with God."

There can be no doubt as to the powerful effect of the evangelistic preaching of these two men. It did

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1. Berry, Scotland's Struggles for Religious Liberty, pp. 84, 85. See Stark, Lights In the North, p. 246.

not add many members to Wesley's Societies, but it enriched the Scottish Church.

Wesleyanism was an important agency in breaking down the rigidity of Scottish theological conceptions. The song of the revival finally found its way into Scotland and Calvinism slowly retreated.¹ Fervour in religion is no longer considered questionable, and though Scottish nature remains unchanged and the Scot will always have his religion in his head, it is increasingly evident that it is also in his heart. Methods of evangelism, once peculiar to Wesleyanism, are now used by all Scottish evangelical churches. The Guild movement within the Church of Scotland was no doubt stimulated by Wesleyanism, and it is, in a measure, an adaptation of the Methodist Society.² Theologically the Methodists and Presbyterians are practically one today as they have been for a number of years. In 1845 Dr. Bunting, speaking for the Wesleyan Church in the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland said, that:

1. Brash, Methodism, p. 60. Edinburgh Scotsman, March 2, 1891.

2. Butler, Wesley and Whitefield in Scotland, p. 220.

"in the standard current theological literature of the Methodist connexion, amidst many extreme and strong statements on particular matters formerly in dispute between Arminians and Calvinists, on views of the Gospel, and amidst old controversies now passed away, abundant proof is afforded, that between Wesleyan Methodists and the Free Church there exists a blessed and essential unity of faith."

This unity of faith was true as regards the Scottish Established Church in that day, and maintains in the present. Wesleyanism has permeated the Churches of the land.

For nearly two centuries this little body of followers of John Wesley have been witnessing to the validity of a deeply spiritual Christianity, as opposed to a purely opinionative religion. The labour of Wesley and his preachers which has done so little to build Methodism in numerical strength, has made a greater contribution. There is deep satisfaction in the realization that after the lapse of these many years, practically all the Scottish

1. Wilson, Methodism in Scotland, p. 25.

Churches have come to accept the teachings of Wesley as brought in the eighteenth century. Failure cannot be written at the end of the Methodist story in Scotland, when the spirit of the great evangelical movement captained by Wesley, is so vital a force in¹ the religious life of the Scotland of today.

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1. It is an interesting fact that Scotland has given richly to Wesleyanism. Many of Wesley's assistants were Scots. Such men as Duncan Wright, Alexander Mather, Thomas Rankin, Alexander M'Nab, Alexander Coates, Duncan McAllum, and William Darney constitute a Scottish Wesleyan roll of honour. The years since Wesley's death, have seen many additions to the list. See Appendix B.

SUMMARY

The purpose of this study has been to present an adequate account of the introduction of Wesleyanism into Scotland, and to trace its development, indicating the reasons for its comparative lack of success, and the difficulties which it encountered.

The rise of Methodism in England has been traced, to show the vigour of the movement in that country, and its tremendous influence upon the development of eighteenth century England. The low tone of social and religious conditions has been presented, and the effect of Wesley's message in reforming the evils of that day has been clearly indicated. The strength of the Wesleyan movement south of the Border is evident.

In order to understand the problem which confronted Wesleyanism in Scotland it was necessary to survey the political and religious conditions in that country. This study shows: 1. That Scotland's political life in the eighteenth century was largely concerned with the struggle over the Union, and the subsequent adjustments that the Union made necessary. 2. That in the struggle over the Union and the

process of adjustment which followed, antagonisms and animosities between the English and Scots increased, and Scottish nationalism was intensified. 3. That following the middle of the century, as Scotland turned to the building of her industrial and commercial life, relations between the two peoples became somewhat more cordial.

A similar study of religious conditions indicates: 1. That religious issues had been of paramount importance in Scotland since the Reformation. 2. That while political and economic development assumed greater importance in this century religious issues continued to have a large part in the life of the people. 3. That Scottish religious life was stimulated in this period by the struggle between the Moderates and Evangelicals, and the resultant Secessions. Further that there was a deeper religious tone in Scotland than in most of the other European countries of that day. 4. That the religious history of the past and the developments in this century, made Presbyterianism an integral part of Scottish national life, and identified loyalty to the Kirk with loyalty to the nation.

The introduction of Wesleyanism came to Scotland, first, through the preaching of George

Whitefield. The study makes clear: 1. That he came primarily as a preacher and not as the organizer of a new work. 2. That he was acceptable in Scotland because of his Calvinistic beliefs. 3. That his importance for the movement in Scotland, was in the fact that his preaching served as an introduction for Wesley and his preachers.

The real introduction of the movement came with Wesley's first journey in 1751. The study of his twenty-two journeys show: 1. That while he was received with courtesy and consideration, he did not find as cordial a welcome as Whitefield. 2. That he found the Scottish people good hearers who endured "plain-dealing", but were self-satisfied and complacent. 3. That his societies grew very slowly, and received a serious set-back from the effects of the Calvinistic controversy. 4. That at Wesley's death the membership was small, and the outlook discouraging. 5. That despite the numerical weakness, Wesley had earned the respect of the Scottish nation as a whole and had won many friends, among the clergy and gentry, as well as among the lower classes.

The development of the movement after Wesley's death is presented chiefly through a study of

the leading Circuits. In tracing the development it is evident: 1. That there was a pessimistic attitude as to the future of Scottish Wesleyanism on the part of the leaders in Methodism. 2. That efforts were made to overcome the difficulties in Scotland, through relaxation of the Methodist rules as a concession to Scottish prejudices, and in raising funds to overcome the discouragement of heavy debts. 3. That in spite of these efforts, and the accessions of strength which came from the immigration of English Methodists, the movement did not grow with any degree of rapidity. 4. That there was a gradual abandonment of many stations, especially in the rural section, and a concentration in the urban centers. 5. That Methodism's greatest success was apparent among the fisher-folk, and through the work of the Mission Halls. 6. That Scotland's share of Britain's membership of over five million in 1929, was barely ten thousand, and the future of the work was under serious consideration.

The slow advance in Scotland has been the subject of much conjecture. Various reasons have been assigned for this retardation, as: 1. Wesley's refusal to recognize Scottish ecclesiastical prejudices, and adjust his work to their tastes. 2. Failure to establish a distinctive Scottish Wesleyan

Conference. 3. Inferior preachers were sent to the Scottish work. 4. Chapel debts and financial difficulties were too heavy a burden. That these do not answer the question is clear, since: 1. Later adaptations to Scottish tastes did not relieve the situation. 2. The establishment of a Scottish Conference was impractical since the Scots lacked the strength and means. 3. The records show that many of the leading Wesleyan preachers served in Scotland. 4. The Free Church and Congregational bodies surmounted the difficulties of debt and other financial obligations.

The causes retarding the growth may be classified as, contributory, and fundamental. The contributory causes were: 1. Wesley's inability to give more time to the Scottish work. 2. Scottish character did not readily respond to the Wesleyan heart appeal. 3. Calvinism, especially in the earlier years, was deep-rooted in Scotland, and Arminianism was under suspicion. 4. Wesleyan leaders were pessimistic and lacked faith in the future of the work. 5. It had no stimulation from violence as it did in England.

The fundamental causes are: 1. Scottish religious development gave little opportunity for the

Wesleyan message and program. 2. The intense loyalty of the Scots to Presbyterianism and its form of church government, made them averse to a system which in so many essentials was diametrically opposed to Presbyterianism. 3. There was an intense, and long existent antagonism between the Scots and English, which made the Scots suspicious of anything which came from south of the Tweed.

The sum total of these causes raised a barrier to progress too difficult for the Wesleyans to overcome.

That Wesleyanism was not a failure in spite of its numerical weakness is evident from the influence exerted on Scottish religious life. This is seen: 1. In the adoption of distinctive Methodist features in Scottish worship, as the evening service, and the use of hymns. 2. In the development of the Sunday School movement and missionary enterprise. 3. In the influence upon social reform as seen in the growth of the Temperance movement. It has also had a general influence: 1. In the change brought about in theological conceptions as seen in the growth of Arminianism, and the decline of Calvinism. 2. In the development of evangelism, and the use of evangelistic methods. 3. In the

deepening of the spiritual life of the nation. This makes clear that though Wesleyanism is almost insignificant in numerical strength, it has made a distinct contribution to Scottish life.

It is hoped that this study may serve as the basis for further investigation in the field of Scottish Wesleyan history. There is material in the Appendices which could well serve as the basis for a comparative study in membership in relation to the movement elsewhere, or, for comparison with the growth of the Independent Scottish Churches. There is material for the study of Scotland's contribution to the Wesleyan ministry, and Appendix B could be used as a starting point. The student of theology might find stimulation for a comparative study of the Wesleyan and Presbyterian doctrines of the eighteenth century, and trace the gradual approach of the two bodies in their theological conceptions. One thing is evident, and that is the little that has been done in the past to gather and preserve historical data relative to Wesleyanism in Scotland. Much material has been lost that can never be recovered, but there is still time to preserve valuable material that may otherwise be lost. If this study has an influence in stimulating greater interest in Scottish Wesleyan history, it will have justified itself.

APPENDIX A.

JOHN WESLEY'S TRAVELS IN SCOTLAND.

from

The Journal of the Rev. John Wesley, M. A.

Edited by Nehemiah Curnock.

London 1909

A study of the introduction of Wesleyanism in Scotland necessarily is based largely on the "Journal". The casual reader may be surprised to learn that Wesley made twenty-two visits to Scotland, and made a determined effort to place his societies there on a strong foundation. The last summer of his life found him journeying again north of Tweed and preaching to the people who "were the best listeners in the world", though little inclined, as a rule, to follow his leadership.

It seemed advisable to select from the "Journal" those portions which related to Scotland, and place them, chronologically arranged, as an Appendix. This is done that there may be greater facility in referring to the Theses foot-notes. It is also valuable to have the record of Wesley's travels in Scotland collected and arranged in this manner, that one may follow his journeyings there with greater ease.

The foot-notes have been inserted by the author in every case, except where the Journal is specifically indicated. It was not deemed necessary to include the various foot-notes placed in the Journal by the Editor, unless clarity demanded.

The manuscript journal from April 10th to May 24th, 1790 is lost, but the Curnock edition traces Wesley's movements by means of the Diary. It is thus possible to make the journal account of his travels in Scotland complete. In former editions the twenty-second Journey to Scotland began with the entry of Monday, May 24th. Wesley entered Scotland May 12th and in former editions the period from the 12th to the 24th was blank.(1)

(1) Journal vol. VIII, pp. 59-66.

WESLEY'S SCOTTISH ITINERARY

First Journey. April, 1751.

(Tues. 23rd at Berwick-on-Tweed).

Wed. 24th. Mr. Hopper and I took horse between three and four, and about seven came to Old Camus.⁽¹⁾ Whether the country was good or bad we could not see, having a thick mist all the way. The Scotch towns are like none which I ever saw, either in England, Ireland, or Wales. There is such an air of antiquity in them all, and such a peculiar oddness in their manner of building. But we were most surprised at the entertainment we met with in every place, so far different from common report. We had all things good, cheap, in great abundance, and remarkably well dressed. In the afternoon we rode by Preston Field, and saw the place of battle and Colonel Gardiner's house. The Scotch here affirm that he fought on foot after he was dismounted, and refused to take quarter. Be it as it may, he is now "where the wicked cease from troubling and the weary are at rest".

We reached Musselburgh between four and five. I had no intention to preach in Scotland, nor did I imagine there were any that desired I should. But I was mistaken. Curiosity (if nothing else) brought abundance of people together in the evening. And whereas in the kirk (Mrs. Gallatin informed me) there used to be laughing and talking, and all the marks of the grossest inattention: but it was far otherwise here--they remained as statues from the beginning of the sermon to the end.

Thurs. 25th. We rode to Edinburgh; one of the dirtiest cities I had ever seen, not excepting Cologne in Germany. We returned to Musselburgh to dinner, whither we were followed in the afternoon by a little party of gentlemen from Edinburgh. I know not why any should complain of the shyness of the Scots towards strangers. All I spoke with were as free and open with me as the people of Newcastle or Bristol; nor did any person move any dispute of any kind, or ask me any question concerning my opinion.

I preached again at six on "Seek ye the Lord, while He may be found." I used great plainness of speech toward them, and they all received it in love; so that the prejudice which the devil had been several years planting was torn up by the roots in one hour. After preaching, one of the bailies of the town, with one of the elders of the kirk, came to me, and begged I would stay with them a while, if it were but two or three days, and they would fit up a larger place than the school, and prepare seats for the congregation. Had not my time been fixed, I should gladly have complied. All I could now do was to give them promise that Mr. Hopper would come back the next week and spend a few days with them.

(1) Whitefield tried to dissuade Wesley from visiting Scotland, warning him that his Arminianism would not be acceptable.

Fri. 26th. I rode back to Berwick.(1)

Second Journey. April, 1753.

Sun. 15th. I preached in the afternoon at Cockermouth, to wellnigh all the inhabitants of the town. Intending to go from thence into Scotland, I inquired concerning the road, and was informed I could not pass the arm of the sea which parts the two kingdoms, unless I was at Bowness, about thirty miles from Cockermouth, soon after five in the morning. At first I thought of taking an hour or two's sleep, and setting out at eleven or twelve. But, upon further consideration, we chose to take our journey first, and rest afterward. So we took horse about seven, and having a calm, moon-shiny night, reached Bowness before one. After two or three hours sleep we set out again without any faintness or drowsiness.

Our landlord as he was guiding us over the Firth, very innocently asked how much a year we got by preaching thus. This gave me an opportunity of explaining to him that kind of gain which he seemed an utter stranger to. He appeared to be quite amazed; and spoke not one word, good or bad, till he took his leave.

Presently after he went, my mare stuck fast in a quagmire, which was in the midst of the high-road. But we could well excuse this; for the road all along, for near fifty miles after, was such as I never saw either in England or Ireland: nay, far better, notwithstanding the continued rain, than the turnpike road between London and Canterbury.

We dined at Dumfries, a clean, well-built town, having two of the most elegant churches (one at each end of the town) that I have ever seen. We reached Thornhill in the evening. What miserable accounts pass current in England of the inns in Scotland! Yet here, as well as wherever we called in our whole journey, we had not only everything we wanted, but everything readily and in good order, and as clean as ever I desire.

Tues. 17th. We set out about four, and rode several high but extremely pleasant mountains to Lead Hill; a village of miners resembling Plessey, near Newcastle. We dined at a village called Lesmahagow, and, about eight in the evening reached Glasgow. A gentleman who had overtaken us on the road went on with us to Mr. Gillies' house.

Wed. 18th. I walked over the city, which I take to be as large as (Cork or) Newcastle-upon-Tyne. The university (like that of Dublin) is only one college, consisting of two small squares; I think not larger, nor at all handsomer, than those of Lincoln College, in Oxford. The habit of the students gave me a surprise. They wear scarlet gowns, reaching only to their knees. Most I saw were dirty, some very ragged, and all of very coarse cloth. The high church is a fine building. The outside is equal to that of most Cathedrals in England; but it is miserably defaced within, having no form, beauty, or symmetry left.

At seven in the evening Mr. Gillies began the service, at his own (the college) church. It was so full before I came that I came that I could not get in without a good deal of difficulty. After singing and prayer he explained a part of the Catechism, which he strongly and affectionately applied. After sermon he prayed and sang again, and concluded with the blessing. He then gave out one after another, four hymns which about a dozen young men sang. He had before desired those who were so minded to go away; but scarce any stirred till all was ended.

Thurs. 19th. At seven I preached about a quarter of a mile from the town; but it was an extremely rough and blustering morning, and few people came either at the time or place of my preaching: the natural consequence of which was that I had a small congregation. About four in the afternoon a tent, as they term it, was prepared: a kind of moving pulpit, covered with canvas at the top, behind, and on the sides. In this I preached near the place where I was in the morning, to near six times as many people as before; and I am persuaded what was spoken came to some of their hearts, "not in word only, but in power".

Fri. 20th. I had designed to preach at the same place, but the rain made it impracticable. So Mr. Gillies desired me to preach in his church, where I began between seven and eight. Surely with God nothing is impossible! Who would have believed, five-and-twenty years ago, either that the minister would have desired it or that I should have consented to preach in a Scotch kirk?

We had a far larger congregation at four in the afternoon than the church could have contained. At seven Mr. Gillies preached another plain, home, affectionate sermon. Has not God still a favour for this city? It was long eminent for serious religion; and He is able to repair what is now decayed, and to build up the waste places.

Sat. 21st. I had designed to ride to Edinburgh; but, at the desire of many, I deferred my journey till Monday. Here was now an open and effectual door, and not many adversaries. I could hear of none but a poor Seceder, who went up and down, and took much pains. But he did not see much fruit of his labour; the people would come and hear for themselves, both in the morning, when I explained (without touching the controversy), "Who shall lay anything to the charge of God's elect?" and in the afternoon, when I enforced, "Seek ye the Lord while He may be found."

Sun. 22. It rained much: nevertheless, upwards (I suppose) of a thousand people stayed with a willingness while I explained and applied, "This is life eternal, to know Thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom Thou hast sent." I was desired to preach afterwards at the prison, which I did about nine o'clock. All the felons, as well as debtors, behaved with such reverence as I never saw at any prison in England. It may be some even of these sinners will occasion joy in heaven.

The behaviour of the people at church, both morning and after-

noon, was beyond anything I ever saw but in our congregations. None bowed or courtesied to each other, either before or after service; from the beginning to the end of which none talked or looked at any but the minister. Surely much of the power of Godliness was here, when there is so much of the form still.

The meadow where I stood in the afternoon was filled from side to side. I spoke as closely as ever in my life. Many of the students and many of the soldiers were there; and I bear them witness they could bear "sound doctrine".

Mon. 23rd. I had a great desire to go round by Kilsyth, in order to see that venerable man, Mr. Robe, (1) who was every day expecting (what his soul longed for) "to depart and be with Christ!" But the continual rains had made it impracticable for us to add so many miles to our day's journey; so we rode on, straight by the Kirk o' Shots; reached Edinburgh by five in the afternoon; lodged at Tranent; and on Tuesday the 24th came to Berwick in good time, where I preached on the bowling-green at six...(2)

Third Journey. May, 1757.

Mon. 30th. I rode to Wigton, a neat, well built town on the edge of Cumberland. I preached in the market-place at twelve. The congregation was large and heavily attentive. Between four and five we crossed Solway Firth, and before seven reached an ill-looking house called the Brow, which we came to by mistake, having passed the house we were directed to. I believe God directed us better than man. Two young women we found, kept the house, who had lost both their parents, their mother very lately. I had great liberty in praying with them and for them. Who knows but God will fasten something upon them they will not easily shake off?

Tues. 31st. I breakfasted at Dumfries, and spent an hour with a poor backslider of London, who had been for some years settled there. We then rode through an uncommonly pleasant country (so widely distant is common report from truth) to Thornhill, two or three miles from the Duke of Queensberry's seat, an ancient and noble pile of building, delightfully situated on the side of a pleasant and fruitful hill. But it gives no pleasure to its owner, for he does not even behold it with his eyes. Surely this is a sore evil under the sun: a man has all things and enjoys nothing.

(1) In 1742 a remarkable revival of religion began at Cambuslang and the neighboring towns, in particular Kilsyth. Mr. Robe, the parish minister at Kilsyth, was one of the principals in this demonstration. He has left an account of this revival which is one of the chief sources of information which we have. George Whitefield was invited to assist and his evangelistic fervour added fuel to the flame. See "Narratives of the Extraordinary Work of the Spirit of God, at Cambuslang, Kilsyth, Erc., begun 1742", by Mr. James Robe, and others. Glasgow, 1749.

(2) Journal vol. IV pp. 61-64. On this northern journey Wesley was accompanied by his wife. Journal vol. IV p. 55.

We rode afterward.. partly over and partly between some of the finest mountains I believe, in Europe, higher than most, if not any, in England, and clothed with grass to the very top. Soon after four we came to Leadhills, a little town at the foot of the mountains, wholly inhabited by miners.

June 1st. Wed. We rode on to Glasgow, a mile short of which we met Mr. Gillies riding out to meet us. (1)

In the evening the tent (so they called a covered pulpit) was placed in the yard of the poorhouse, a very large and commodious place. Fronting the pulpit was the infirmary, with most of the patients at or near the windows. Adjoining to this was the hospital for lunatics; several of them gave deep attention. And cannot God also give them the spirit of a sound mind? After sermon they brought four children to baptize. I was at the kirk in the morning while the minister baptized several immediately after sermon, so I was not at a loss as to their manner of baptizing. I believe this removed much prejudice.

Fri. 3rd. At seven the congregation was increased, and earnest attention sat on every face. In the afternoon we walked to the College and saw the new library with the collection of pictures. Many of them are by Raphael, Rubens, Van Dyck, and other eminent hands; but they have not room to place them to advantage, their whole building being very small.

Sat. 4th. I walked through all parts of the old cathedral, a very large, and once beautiful structure, I think more lofty than that at Canterbury, and nearly the same length and breadth. We then went up the main steeple, which gave us a fine prospect both of the city and the adjacent country. A more fruitful and better cultivated plain is scarce to be seen in England. Indeed, nothing is wanting but more trade (which would naturally bring more people) to make a great part of Scotland no way inferior to the best counties of England.

I was much pleased with the seriousness of the people in the evening, but still I prefer the English congregations. I cannot be reconciled to men sitting at prayer or covering their heads while they are singing praise to God.

Sun. 5th. At seven the congregation was just as large as my voice could reach, and I did not spare them at all. So, if any will deceive himself, I am clear of his blood. In the afternoon it was judged two thousand at least went away not being able to hear, but several thousands heard very distinctly, the evening being calm and still. After preaching I met as many as

(1) Dr. John Gillies, minister of the College Church, Glasgow. He was the faithful friend of Whitefield and Wesley. Tyerman's "Life of Wesley", vol. II, pp. 64, 65.

desired it of the members of the praying societies. I earnestly advised them to meet Mr. Gillies every week, and at their other meetings not to talk loosely and in general (as their manner had been) on some head of religion, but to examine each other's hearts and lives.

Mon. 6th. We took horse early, and in three hours reached the Kirk o' Shots, where the landlord seemed to be unusually affected by a few minutes' conversation, as did also the woman of the house where we dined. We came to Musselburgh at five. I went to an inn, and sent for Mr. Bailliff Lindsey, whom I had seen several years ago. He came immediately, and desired me to make his house my home. At seven I preached in the Poorhouse to a large and deeply attentive congregation; but, the number of people making the room extremely hot, I preached in the morning before the door. Speaking afterwards to the members of the society, I was agreeably surprised to find more than two-thirds knew in whom they had believed. And the tree was known by its fruits. The national shyness and stubbornness was gone, and they were as open and teachable as little children. At seven five or six and forty of the fifty Dragoons, and multitudes of the town's-people, attended. Is the time come that even these wise Scots shall become fools for Christ's sake?

Wed. 8th. I rode to Dunbar. Here I also found a little society, most of them rejoicing in God their Saviour. At eleven I went out into the main street, and began speaking to a congregation of two men and two women. These were soon joined by above twenty little children, and not long after by a large number of young and old. On a sudden the sun broke out and shone full in my face, but in a few moments I felt it not. In the afternoon I rode to Berwick-upon-Tweed. They did not expect me till next day. However, a congregation quickly assembled, and one as large, if not larger, at five in the morning.

Thurs. 9th. Today "Douglas", the play which has made so much noise was put in my hands. I was astonished to find it is one of the finest tragedies I ever read. What a pity that a few lines were not left out, and that it was ever acted at Edinburgh.

Fri. 10th. I found myself much out of order, till the flux stopped at once without any medicine; but being still weak, and the sun shining extremely hot, I was afraid I should not be able to go round by Kelso. Vain fear! God took care for this also. The wind, which had been full east for several days, turned this morning full west, and blew just in our face; and about ten the clouds rose, and kept us cool till we came to Kelso.

At six William Coward and I went to the Market-house. We stayed some time, and neither man, woman, nor child came near us. At length I began singing a Scotch psalm, and fifteen or twenty people came within hearing, but with great circumspection, keeping their distance as though they knew not what might follow But while I prayed their number increased, so that in a few minutes there was a pretty large congregation. I suppose the chief men of the town were there, and I spared neither rich nor poor. I almost wondered at myself, it not being usual with me to use so keen and cutting expressions, and I believe that many felt that, for all their form, they were but heathen still.

Sat. 11th. Near as many were present at five, to whom I spoke as plain as before. Many looked as if they would look us through; but the shyness peculiar to this nation prevented their saying anything to me, good or bad, while I walked through them to our inn.

About noon I preached at Wooler, a pretty large town eighteen miles from Kelso. I stood on one side of the main street, near the middle of the town. And I might stand, for no creature came near me till I had sung part of a psalm. Then a row of children stood before me, and in some time about a hundred men and women. I spoke full as plain as I did at Kelso; and Pharisees themselves are not out of God's reach.

In the afternoon we came to Alnwick, and at six I preached in the court-house to a congregation of another spirit.

Sun. 12th. At seven they were gathered from all parts. Oh what a difference between these living stones and the dead, unfeeling multitudes in Scotland.(1)

Fourth Journey. May, 1759.

Mon. 21st. I preached at ten in the market-place at Wigton, and came to Solway Frith, just as water was fordable. At some times it is so three hours in twelve; at other times, barely one.

After making a short wait at Ruthwell, we came to Dumfries before six o'clock. Having no time to spare, we took a walk in the churchyard, one of the pleasantest places I ever saw. A single tomb I observed there, which was about a hundred and thirty years old; but the inscription was very hardly legible: "*Quandoquidem remanent ipsis quoque fata sepulchris.*" So soon even do our sepulchres die! Strange that men should be so careful about them! But are not many self-condemned therein? They see the folly while they run into it. So poor Mr. Prior

(1) Journal vol. IV, pp. 215-218.

speaking of his own tomb, has those melancholy words, "For this last piece of human vanity, I bequeath five hundred pounds."

Tues. 22nd. We rode through a pleasant country to Thornhill, near which is the grand seat of the Duke of Queensberry. How little did the late Duke imagine that his son would plough up his park and let his house run to ruin! But let it go! In a little time the earth itself, and all the works of it, shall be burned up.

Hence we rode through and over huge mountains, green to the very top, to Leadhills, a village containing five hundred families, who have had no minister for these four years. So, in Scotland, the poor have not the gospel preached! Who shall answer for the blood of these men?

Early in the evening we came to Lesmahagow, a village not so large as Leadhill. It has, however, two ministers. Here also we walked down to the churchyard, by the side of which a little clear river runs, near the foot of a high and steep mountain. The wood which covers this makes the walks that run on its sides pleasant beyond imagination. But what taste have the good people of the town for this? As much as the animals that graze on the river bank.

Wed. 23rd. We took horse soon after four, and did not stop before we came to Glasgow, having hardly seen a cloud in the sky since we set out from Whitehaven. I preached at seven in the Poor House, and at seven in the morning, Thursday the 24th. But in the evening we were obliged to be abroad, and I used great plainness of speech. All suffered the word of exhortation; some seemed to be a little affected.

Sat. 26th. I found the little society which I had joined here two years since had soon split in pieces. In the afternoon I met several of the members of the praying societies and showed them what Christian fellowship was, and what need they had of it. About forty of them met me on Sunday the 27th, in Mr. Gillies' kirk, immediately after evening service. I left them determined to meet Mr. Gillies weekly, at the same time and place. If this be done, I shall try to see Glasgow again; if not, I can employ my time better.

At seven in the morning we had a numerous congregation, though small compared to that in the evening. Yet my voice was so strengthened that I believe all could hear. I spoke very plain on, "Ye must be born again." Now I am clear of the blood of this people. I have delivered my own soul.

Mon. 28th. I rode through Edinburgh to Musselburgh, and preached in the evening to a deeply attentive congregation.

Wed. 30th. I rode on to Dunbar, and at six in the evening

preached in a large open place (as also the next day). Both poor and rich quietly attended, though most of them shivering with the cold; for the weather was so changed within a few days that it seemed more like December than May.

Lodging with a sensible man, I inquired particularly into the present discipline of the Scotch parishes. In one parish it seems there are twelve ruling elders; in another there are fourteen. And what are these? Men of great sense and deep experience? Neither one nor the other. But they are the richest men in the parish. And are the richest, of course, the best and the wisest men? Does the Bible teach this? I fear not. What manner of governors, then will these be? Why, they are generally just as capable of governing a parish as of commanding an army.(1)

Fifth Journey. April, 1761

Mon. 27th. I preached at eight in the market place at Wigton..

Before noon we came to Solway Firth. The guide told us it was not passable, but I resolved to try and got over well. Having lost ourselves but twice or thrice, in one of the most difficult roads I ever saw, we came to Moffat in the evening.

Tues. 28th. We rode partly over the mountains, partly with mountains on either hand, between which was a clear, winding river, and about four in the afternoon reached Edinburgh. Here I met Mr. Hopper, who had promised to preach in evening, in a large room, lately an episcopal meeting-house.

Wed. 29th. It being extremely cold, I preached in the same room at seven. Some of the reputable hearers cried out in amaze: "Why this is sound doctrine! Is this he of whom Mr. Wh(itefield) used to talk so?" Talk as he will I shall not retaliate.

I preached in the evening, and the next day rode round by the Queen's Ferry to Dundee; but, as the wind being high, the boatman could not, at least would not, pass. Nor could we pass the next day till between nine and ten. We then rode on through Montrose to Stonehaven. Here Mr. Memyss(2) met us, and on Saturday morning brought us to his house at Aberdeen.

In the afternoon I went to the Principal and Regent to desire leave to preach in the College Close. This was readily granted, but, as it began to rain, I was desired to go into the hall. I suppose this is fully a hundred feet long, and seated all around. The congregation was large, notwithstanding the rain, and full as large at five in the morning.

(1) Journal vol. IV, pp. 315, 316.

(2) See "Sketch of Methodism in Aberdeen" by C. D. (This is no doubt Mr. C. Diack.)

May 3rd, Sun. I heard two useful sermons at the kirk, one preached by the Principal of the College, the other by the Divinity Professor. A huge multitude afterwards gathered together in the College Close, and all that could hear seemed to receive the truth in love. I then added about twenty to the little society. Fair blossoms! But how many of these will bring forth fruit?

Mon. 4th. We had another large congregation at five. Before noon twenty came to me desiring to cast in their lot with us, and appearing to be cut to the heart.

About noon I took a walk to the King's College, in Old Aberdeen. It has three sides of a square, handsomely built, not unlike Queen's College in Oxford. Going up to see the hall, we found a large company of ladies, with several gentlemen. They looked and spoke to one another, after which one of the gentlemen took courage and came to me. He said: "We came last night to the College Close, but could not hear, and should be extremely obliged if you would give us a short discourse here." I knew not what God might have to do, and so began without delay on "God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto Himself! I believe the word was not lost; it fell as dew on the tender grass."

In the afternoon I was walking in the library of the Marischal College when the Principal and the Divinity Professor came to me, and the latter invited me to his lodgings, where I spent an hour very agreeably. In the evening the eagerness of the people made them ready to trample each other underfoot. It was some time before they were still enough to hear, but then they devoured every word. After preaching, Sir Archibald Grant (whom business had called to town) sent and desired to speak to me. I could not then, but promised to wait upon him, with God's leave, in my return to Edinburgh.

Tues. 5th. I accepted the Principal's invitation, and spent an hour with him at his house. I observed no stiffness at all, but the easy good-breeding of a man of sense and learning. I suppose both he and all the professors, with some of the magistrates, attended in the evening. I set all the windows open, but the hall, notwithstanding, was as hot as a bagnio. But this did not hinder either the attention of the people or the blessing of God.

Wed. 6th. We dined at Mr. Ogilvie's, one of the ministers between whom the city is divided. A more open-hearted, friendly man I know not that I ever saw. And indeed I have scarce seen such a set of ministers in any town of Great Britain or Ireland.

At half-hour after six I stood in the College Close and proclaimed Christ crucified. My voice was so strengthened that all could hear, and all were earnestly attentive. I have now "cast my bread upon the water;" may I "find it again after many days"!

Thurs. 7th. Leaving near ninety members in the society, I rode over to Sir A. Grant's near Monymusk, about twenty miles northwest from Aberdeen. It lies in a fruitful and pleasant val-

ley, much of which is owing to Sir Archibald's improvements, who has ploughed up abundance of waste ground and planted some millions of trees. His stately old house is surrounded by gardens and rows of trees, with a clear river on one side. And about a mile from his house he has laid out a small valley into walks and gardens, on one side of which the river runs. On each side rises a steep mountain, one rocky and bare, the other covered with trees, row above row, to the very top.

About six we went to the church. It was pretty well filled with such persons as we did not look for so near the Highlands. But if we were surprised at their appearance, we were much more so at their singing. Thirty or forty sung an anthem after sermon with such voices as well as judgment that I doubt whether they could have been excelled at any cathedral in England.

Fri. 8th. We rode to Glamis, about sixty-four measured miles, and on Saturday the 9th about sixty-six more, to Edinburgh. I was tired; however, I would not disappoint the congregation, and God gave me strength according to my day.

Sun. 10th. I had designed to preach near the Infirmary, but some of the managers would not suffer it. So I preached in our room morning and evening, even to the rich and honorable. And I bear them witness they will endure plain dealing, whether they profit by it or not.

Mon. 11th. I took my leave of Edinburgh for the present. The situation of the city, on a hill shelving down on both sides, as well as to the east, with the stately castle upon a craggy rock on the west, is inexpressibly fine. And the main street, so broad and finely paved, with the lofty houses on either hand (many of them seven or eight stories high), is far beyond any in Great Britain. But how can it be suffered that all manner of filth should still be thrown even into this street continually? Where are the magistracy, the gentry, the nobility of the land? Have they no concern for the honour of their nation? How long shall the capital city of Scotland, yea, and the chief street of it, stink worse than a common sewer? Will no lover of his country, or of decency and common sense, find a remedy for this?

Holyrood House, at the entrance of Edinburgh, the ancient palace of the Scottish kings, is a noble structure. It was rebuilt and furnished by King Charles the Second. One side of it is a picture-gallery, wherein are pictures of all the Scottish kings and an original one of the celebrated Queen Mary. It is scarce... possible for any who looks at this to think her such a monster as some have painted her, nor indeed for any who considers the circumstances of her death, equal to that of an ancient martyr.

I preached in the evening at Musselburgh, and at five in the morning. Then we rode on to Haddington, where (the rain driving me in) I preached between nine and ten in Provost Dickson's parlour. About one I preached at North Berwick, a pretty large town close to the sea-shore, and at seven in the evening (the rain con-

tinuing) in the house at Dunbar.

Wed. 13th. It being a fair, mild evening, I preached near the quay to most of the inhabitants of the town, and spoke full as plain as the evening before. Every one seemed to receive it in love; probably if there was regular preaching here much good might be done.(1)

Sixth Journey. May, 1763.

Mon. 16th. Setting out a month later than usual, I judged it needful to make more haste; so I took post-chaises, and by that means easily reached Newcastle on Wednesday the 18th. Thence I went on at leisure, and came to Edinburgh on Saturday the 21st. The next day I had the satisfaction of spending a little time with Mr. Whitefield. Humanly speaking, he is worn out; but we have to do with Him who hath all power in heaven and earth.

Mon. 23rd. I rode to Forfar, and on Tuesday the 24th rode on to Aberdeen.

Wed. 25th. I inquired into the state of things here. Surely never was there a more open door. The four ministers of Aberdeen, hitherto seem to have no dislike, but rather wish us "good luck in the name of the Lord". Most of the townspeople as yet seem to wish us well; so that there is no open opposition of any kind. Oh what spirit ought a preacher to be of, that he may be able to bear all this sunshine!

About noon I went to Gordon's Hospital, built near the town for poor children. It is an exceeding handsome building, and (what is not common) kept exceeding clean. The gardens are pleasant, well laid out, and in extremely good order; but the old bachelor who founded it has expressly provided that no woman should ever be there.

At seven, the evening being mild and fair, I preached to a multitude of people, in the College Close, on "Stand in the ways and see, and ask for the old paths." But the next evening being raw and cold, I preached in the College Hall. What an amazing willingness to hear runs through this whole kingdom! There want only a few zealous, active labourers, who desire nothing but God; and they might soon carry the gospel through all this country, even as high as the Orkneys.

Fri. 27th. I set out for Edinburgh again. About one I preached at Brechin. All were deeply attentive. Perhaps a few may not be forgetful hearers. Afterward we rode on to Broughty Castle, two or three miles below Dundee. We were in hopes of passing the river here, though we could not at the town; but we found our horses could not pass till eleven or twelve at night. So we judged it would be best to go over ourselves and leave them behind. In a little time we procured a kind of a boat, about half as long as a

(1) Journal vol. IV pp. 448-453.

London wherry, and three or four feet broad. Soon after we had put off I perceived it leaked on all sides, nor had we anything to lade out the water. When we came toward the middle of the river, which was three miles over, the wind being high and the water rough, our boatmen seemed a little surprised; but we encouraged them to pull away, and in less than half an hour we landed safe. Our horses were brought after us, and the next day we rode on to Kinghorn Ferry, and had a pleasant passage to Leith.

Sun. 29th. I preached at seven in the High School yard at Edinburgh. It being the time of the General Assembly, which drew together, not the ministers only, but abundance of the nobility and gentry, many of both sorts were present; but abundantly more at five in the afternoon. I spoke as plain as ever I did in my life; but I never knew any in Scotland offended at plain dealing. In this respect the North Britons are a pattern to all mankind.

Mon. 30th. I rode to Dunbar. In the evening it was very cold, and the wind was exceeding high; nevertheless, I would not pen myself up in the room, but resolved to preach in the open air. We saw the fruit; many attended, notwithstanding the cold, who never set foot in the room; and I am still persuaded much good will be done here, if we have zeal and patience.(1)

Seventh Journey. May, 1764.

Wed. 23rd. I rode over the sands to Holy Island, once the famous seat of a bishop; now the residence of a few poor families, who live chiefly by fishing.. In the evening I preached at Berwick-on-Tweed; the next evening at Dunbar, and on Friday the 25th, about ten, at Haddington, in Provost D(ickson's) yard, to a very elegant congregation. But I expect little good will be done here, for we begin at the wrong end. Religion must not go from the greatest to the least, or the power would appear to be of men.

In the evening I preached at Musselburgh, and the next on the Calton Hill at Edinburgh. It being the time of the General Assembly, many of the ministers were there. The wind was high and sharp, and blew away a few delicate ones. But most of the congregation did not stir till I had concluded.

Sun. 27th. At seven I preached in the High School yard, on the other side of the city. The morning was extremely cold. In the evening it blew a storm. However, having appointed to be on Calton Hill, I began there to a huge congregation. At first the wind was a little troublesome; but I soon forgot it. And so did the people for an hour and a half, in which I fully delivered my own soul.

Mon. 28th. I spent some hours in the General Assembly, composed of about a hundred and fifty ministers. I was surprised to find: (1) that anyone was admitted, even lads twelve or fourteen years old; (2) that the chief speakers were lawyers, six or seven on one side only; (3) that a single question took up the whole

(1) Journal vol. V, pp. 13-15.

time, which when I went away, seemed to be as far from conclusion as ever, namely, "Shall Mr. Lindsay be removed to Kilmarnock parish or not?" The argument for it was, "He has a large family, and this living is twice as good as his own." The argument against it was, "The people are resolved not to hear him, and will leave the kirk if he comes." If, then, the real point in view had been, as their law directs, magus bonum Ecclesiae, instead of taking up five hours, the debate might have been terminated in five minutes. On Monday and Tuesday I spoke to the members of the society severally.

Thurs. 31st. I rode to Dundee, and, about half an hour after six, preached on the side of a meadow near the town. Poor and rich attended. Indeed there is seldom fear of wanting a congregation in Scotland. But the misfortune is, they know everything; so they learn nothing.

June 1st. Fri. I rode to Brechin, where Mr. Blair received me in the most friendly manner. In the afternoon I preached on the side of a hill near the town, where we soon forgot the cold. I trust that there will be not only a knowing but a loving people in this place.

About seven Mr. B(lair) was occasionally mentioning what had lately occurred in the next parish. I thought it worth a further inquiry, and therefore ordered our horses to be brought immediately. Mr. B- guided us to Mr. Ogilvie's house, the minister of the parish, who informed us that a strange disorder had appeared in his parish between thirty and forty years ago; but that nothing of the kind had been known there since till sometime in September last. January, or beginning of February, many other children were taken, chiefly girls, and a few grown persons. They begin with an involuntary shaking of their hands and feet. Then their lips are convulsed; next their tongue, which seems to cleave to the roof of the mouth. Then the eyes are set, staring terribly, and the whole face variously distorted. Presently they start up, and jump ten, fifteen, or twenty times together straight upward two, three, or more feet from the ground. Then they start forward, and run with amazing swiftness two, three, or five hundred yards. Frequently they run up, like a cat, to the top of a house, and jump on the ridge of it as on the ground. But wherever they are, they never fall or miss their footing at all. After they have run and jumped for some time they drop down as dead. When they come to themselves, they usually tell when and where they shall be taken again; frequently how often and where they shall jump, and to what place they shall run.

I asked, "Are any of them near?" He said, "Yes, at those houses." We walked thither without delay. One of them was four years and a half old, the other about eighteen. The child, we found, had had three or four fits that day, running and jumping like the rest, and in particular leaping many times from a high table to the ground without the least hurt. The young woman was the only person of them all who used to keep her senses during the fit. In answer to many questions, she said, "I first feel a pain in my left foot, then in my head; then my hands and feet shake, and I cannot speak; and quickly I begin to jump or run. While we were talking she cried out, "Oh! I have a pain in my foot; it is in my hand; it is here at the bending of my arm! Oh, my head! My head! My head!" Immediately her arms were stretched out, and were as an

iron bar. I could not bend one of her fingers, and her body was bent backward, the lower part remaining quite erect, while her back formed exactly a half-circle, her head hanging even with her hips. I was going to catch her, but one said, "Sir, you may let her alone, for they never fall." But I defy all mankind to account for her not falling when the trunk of her body hung in that manner.

In many circumstances this case goes far beyond the famous one mentioned by Boerhaave; particularly in that--their telling before when and how they should be taken again. Whoever can account for this on natural principles has my free leave: I cannot. I therefore believe, if this be in part a natural distemper, there is something preternatural too. Yet, supposing this, I can easily conceive Satan will so disguise his part therein that we cannot precisely determine which part of the disorder is natural and which preternatural.

Sat. 2nd. I rode to Aberdeen, and preached in the evening in the College Hall, and at seven in the morning on Sunday the 3rd. At four in the afternoon I preached to a crowded audience in the College kirk at Old Aberdeen. At seven I preached in the College close at New Aberdeen. But the congregation was so exceeding large that many were not able to hear. However, many did hear, and I think feel, the application of "Thou art not far from the Kingdom of God."

We want nothing here but a larger house; and the foundation of one is laid already. It is true we have little money, and the society is poor; but we know in whom we have believed.

Thurs. 7th. I rode over to Sir Archibald Grant's, twelve computed miles from Aberdeen. It is surprising to see how the country between is improved even within these three years. On every side the wild, dreary moors are ploughed up, and covered with rising corn. All the ground near Sir Archibald's, in particular, is as well cultivated as most in England. About seven I preached. The kirk was pretty well filled, though upon short notice. Certainly this is a nation "swift to hear and slow to speak," though not "slow to wrath".

Mr. Grant(1), a gentleman from the county of Moray, came in soon after us; and, understanding we were going north, desired we would call at the Grange Green in our way. In the morning, Friday the 8th, I rode to Old Meldrum, and preached in the market-place at noon to a large and serious congregation, among whom were the minister and his wife. But I was more surprised to see a company of our friends from Aberdeen, several of whom had come on foot, twelve old Scotch miles, and intended to walk back thither the same day. In the afternoon we rode on to Banff. I had designed to preach, but the stormy weather would not permit. We set out early on Saturday morning, and reached Nairn in the evening.

Sun. 10th. About eight we reached Inverness. I could not preach abroad because of the rain, nor could I hear of any conven-

(1) Afterward Sir Ludowick Grant. Journal p. 74.

ient room, so that I was afraid my coming hither would be in vain, all ways seeming blocked up. At ten I went to the kirk. After service Mr. Fraser, one of the ministers invited us to dinner, and then to drink tea. As we were drinking tea he asked at what hour I would please preach. I said, "At half-hour past five". The high kirk was filled in a very short time, and I have seldom found greater liberty of spirit. The other minister came afterwards to our inn, and showed the most cordial affection. Were it only for this day, I should not have regretted the riding a hundred miles.

Mon. 11th. A gentleman, who lives three miles from the town, invited me to his house, assuring me the minister of his parish would be glad if I would make use of his kirk; but time would not permit, as I had been appointed to be at Aberdeen on Wednesday. All I could do was to preach once more at Inverness. I think the church was fuller now than before, and I could not but observe the remarkable behaviour of the whole congregation after service. Neither man, woman, nor child spoke one word all the way down main street. Indeed, the seriousness of the people is the less surprising when it is considered that for at least a hundred years this town has had such a succession of pious ministers as very few in Great Britain have known.

After Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Aberdeen, I think Inverness is the largest town I have seen in Scotland. The main streets are broad and straight; the houses mostly old, but not very bad nor very good. It stands in a pleasant and fruitful country, and has all things needful for life and godliness. The people in general speak remarkably good English, and are of a friendly, courteous behaviour.

About eleven we took horse. While we were dining at Naïen the inn-keeper said, "Sir, the gentlemen of the town have read the little book you gave me on Saturday, and would be glad if you would please give them a sermon." Upon my consenting, the bell was immediately rung, and the congregation was quickly in the kirk. Oh what a difference is there between South and North Britain! Everyone here at least loves to hear the word of God; and none takes it into his head to speak one uncivil word to any for endeavouring to save their souls.

Doubting whether Mr. Grant was come home, Mr. Kershaw called at the Grange Green, near Forres, while I rode forward. But Mr. Grant soon called me back. I have seldom seen a more agreeable place. The house is an old castle, which stands on a little hill, with a delightful prospect all four ways; and the hospitable master has left nothing undone to make it still more agreeable. He showed us all his improvements, which are very considerable in every branch of husbandry. In his gardens many things were more forward than at Aberdeen, yea, or Newcastle. And how is it that none but one Highland gentleman has discovered that we have a tree in Britain as easily raised as an ash, the wood of which is of full as fine a red as mahogany?—namely, the laburnum. I defy any mahogany to exceed the chairs which he has lately made of this.

Tues. 12th. We rode through the pleasant and fertile country of Moray to Elgin. I never suspected before that there was any such country as this near a hundred and fifty miles beyond Edinburgh; a country which is supposed to have generally six weeks more sunshine in a year than any part of Great Britain.

At Elgin are the ruins of a noble cathedral, the largest that I remember to have seen in the kingdom. We rode thence to the Spey, the most rapid river, next the Rhine, that I ever saw. Though the water was not breast-high to our horses, they could very hardly keep their feet. We dined at Keith, and rode on to Strathbogie(1), much improved by the linen-manufacture. All the country from Fochabers to Strathbogie has little houses scattered up and down; and not only the valleys, but the mountains themselves, are improved with the utmost care. There want only mere trees to make them more pleasant than most of the mountains of England. The whole family at our inn, eleven or twelve in number, gladly joined with us in prayer at night. Indeed, so they did at every inn where we lodged; for, among all the sins they have imported from England, the Scots have not learned, at least not the common people, to scoff at sacred things.

Wed. 13th. We reached Aberdeen about one. Between six and seven, both this evening and the next, I preached in the shell of a new house, and found it a time of much consolation.

Fri. 15th. We set out early and came to Dundee just as the boat was going off. We designed to lodge at the house on the other side; but could not get meat, drink, or good words, so we were constrained to ride on to Cupar. After travelling near ninety miles, I found no weariness at all; neither were our horses hurt. Thou, O Lord, dost save both man and beast!

Sat. 16th. We had a ready passage at Kinghorn, and in the evening I preached on the Calton Hill to a very large congregation; but a still larger assembled at seven on Sunday morning in the High School yard. Being afterwards informed that the Lord's Supper was to be administered in the West Kirk(2), I knew not what to do; but at length I judged it best to embrace the opportunity, though I did not admire the manner of administration. After the usual morning service, the minister enumerated several sorts of sinners, whom he forbade to approach. Two long tables were set on the sides of one aisle, covered with table-cloths. On each side of them a bench was placed for the people. Each table held four or five and thirty. Three ministers sat at the top, behind a cross-table, one of whom made a long exhortation, closed with the words of our Lord; and then, breaking the bread, gave it to him who sat on each side of him. A piece of bread was then given to him who sat first on each of the four benches. He broke off a little piece, and gave the bread to the next; so it went on, the deacons giving more when wanted. A cup was then given to the first person on each bench,

(1) Now called Huntly.

(2) St. Cuthbert's Parish Church.

and so by one to another. The minister continued his exhortation all the time they were receiving; then four verses of the twenty-second Psalm were sung, while new persons sat down at the tables. A second minister then prayed, consecrated, and exhorted. I was informed the service usually lasted till five in the evening. How much more simple, as well as more solemn, is the service of the Church of England.

The evening congregation on the hill was far the largest I have seen in the kingdom, and the most deeply affected. Many were in tears; more seemed cut to the heart. Surely this time will not soon be forgotten. Will it not appear in the annals of eternity?

Mon. 18th. I set out early, and reached Wooler about four in the afternoon. Some friends from Newcastle met me here, and took me in a chaise to Whittingham.(1)

Eighth Journey. April, 1765.

Tues. 23rd. I preached at Dunbar about noon, and in the evening at Edinburgh. My coming was quite seasonable (though unexpected), as those bad letters, published in the name of Mr. Hervey, and reprinted here by Mr. John Erskine, had made a great deal of noise.

Wed. 24th. I preached at four in the afternoon on the ground where we had laid the foundation of our house.

Fri. 26th. About noon I preached at Musselburgh where are a few living souls still. In the evening we had another blessed opportunity at Edinburgh, and I took a solemn leave of the people. Yet how I should be able to ride I knew not. At Newcastle I had observed a small swelling, less than a pea, but in six days it was as large as a pullet's egg, and exceeding hard. On Thursday it broke. I feared riding would not agree with this, especially a hard-trotting horse. However, trusting God, I set out early on Saturday morning. Before I reached Glasgow it was much decreased, and in two or three days more it was quite gone. If it was a boil, it was such a one as I never heard of, for it was never sore, first or last, nor ever gave me any pain.

This evening I preached in the Hall of the Hospital; the next day, morning and afternoon, in the yard. So much of the form of religion is here still as is scarce to be found in any town in England. There was once the power too. And shall it not be again? Surely the time is at hand.

Mon. 29th. I rode with James Kershaw through a fruitful country to Kilmarnock, and thence to Ayr. After a short wait at Maybole in the afternoon we went on to Girvan, a little town on the seashore.

Tues. 30th. We rode over high and steep mountains between

(1) Journal vol. V pp. 70-78.

Ballantrae and Stranraer, where we met with as good entertainment of every kind as if we had been in the heart of England.

We reached Port Patrick about three o'clock, and were immediately surrounded with men, offering to carry us over the water. But the wind was full in our teeth. I determined to wait till morning, and then go forward or backward, as God should please.(1)

Ninth Journey. May, 1766.

Fri. 23rd. When I came to Old Cambus I found notice had been given of my preaching about a mile off. So I took horse without delay and rode to Cockburnspath, where the congregation was waiting. I spoke as plain as I possibly could, but very few appeared to be at all affected. It seems to be with them as with most in the north-they know everything, and feel nothing.

I had designed to preach abroad at Dunbar in the evening, but the rain drove us into the house. It was for good. I now had a full stroke at their hearts, and I think some felt themselves sinners.

Sat. 24th. In the afternoon, notice having been given a week before, I went to the room at Preston Pans; and I had it all to myself, neither man, woman, or child offered to look me in the face. So I ordered a chair to be placed in the street. Then forty or fifty crept together; but they were mere stocks and stones-no more concerned than if I had talked Greek. In the evening I preached in the new room at Edinburgh, a large and commodious building.

Mon. 26th. I spent some hours at the meeting of the National Assembly. I am very far from being of Mr. Whitefield's mind, who greatly commends the solemnity of this meeting. I have seen few less solemn; I was extremely shocked at the behaviour of many of the members. Had any preacher behaved so at our Conference he would have had no more place among us.

Wed. 28th. I preached at Leith, and spoke exceeding plain. A few received the truth in love thereof.

June 1st. Sun. Many of the ministers were present at seven, with a large and serious congregation. In the afternoon I heard a thundering sermon in the new kirk, occasioned by Mr. Jardin's (a minister) dropping down dead in the Assembly a day or two before. I preached in the evening on "The Spirit and the Bride say, Come!" A few, I trust, closed with the invitation.

Mon. 2nd. I came to Dundee, wet enough. But it cleared up in the evening, so that I preached abroad to a large congregation, many of whom attended in the morning.

Tues. 3rd. The congregation was still larger in the evening

but on Wednesday the rain kept us in the house.

Thurs. 5th. It being fair, we had a more numerous congregation than ever; to whom, after preaching, I took occasion to repeat most of the plausible objections which had been made to us in Scotland. I then showed our reasons for the things which had been objected to us, and all seemed to be thoroughly satisfied. The sum of what I spoke was this:

I love plain dealing. Do not you? I will use it now. Bear with me. I hang out no false colours; but show you all I am, all I intend, all I do. I am a member of the Church of England; but I love good men of every Church. My ground is the Bible. Yea, I am a Bible-bigot. I follow it in all things, both great and small. Therefore, 1. I always use a short private prayer when I attend the public service of God. Do not you? Why do you not? Is not this according to the Bible? 2. I stand whenever I sing the praise of God in public. Does not the Bible give you plain precedents for this? 3. I always kneel before the Lord my Maker when I pray in public. 4. I generally in public use the Lord's Prayer, because Christ has taught me, when I pray, to say-- I advise every preacher connected with me, whether in England or Scotland, herein to tread in my steps.

Fri. 6th. We went on to Aberdeen, about seventy measured miles. The congregation in the evening was larger than the usual one at Edinburgh, and the number of those who attended in the morning showed they were not all curious hearers.

Sun. 8th. Knowing no reason why we should make God's day the shortest of the seven, I desired Joseph Thompson to preach at five. At eight I preached myself. In the afternoon I heard a strong, close sermon at Old Aberdeen, and afterward preached in the college kirk to a very genteel and yet serious congregation. I then opened and enforced the way of holiness, at New Aberdeen, on a numerous congregation.

Mon. 9th. I kept a watch-night, and explained to abundance of genteel people, "One thing is needful"; a great number of whom would not go away till after the noon of night.

Tues. 10th. I rode over to Sir Archibald Grant's. The church was pretty well filled, and I spoke exceeding plain; yet the hearers did not appear to be any more affected than the stone walls.

Wed. 11th. I returned to Aberdeen, where many of the people were much alive to God. With these our labour has not been in vain, and they are worth all the pains we have taken in Scotland.

Fri. 13th. We reached Brechin a little before twelve. Quickly after, I began preaching in the flesh-market, on the "one thing needful". It being the fair-day, the town was full of strangers,

and perhaps some of them were of Him they sought not. I preached in the evening at Dundee, with greater liberty than ever before.

Sat. 14th. It rained from the moment we set out till (about one) we came to Kinghorn. Finding the boat was not to move till four o'clock, I purposed to hire a pinnace; but the wind springing up fair, I went into the large boat. Quickly it fell calm again, so that we did not get over till past seven.

Sun. 15th. Our room was very warm in the afternoon, through the multitude of people, a great number of whom were people of fashion, with many ministers. I spoke to them with the utmost plainness, and, I believe, not in vain; for we had such a congregation at five in the morning as I never saw in Edinburgh before. It is scarce possible to speak too plain in England; but it is scarce possible to speak plain enough in Scotland. And if you do not, you lose all your labour; you ploughe upon the sand.

Mon. 16th. I took a view of one of the greatest natural curiosities in the kingdom--what is called Arthur's Seat; a small, rocky eminence, six or seven yards across, on the top of an exceeding high mountain, not far from Edinburgh. The prospect from the top of the castle is large, but it is nothing in comparison of this. In the evening we had another Sunday's congregation, who seemed more affected than the day before.

Tues. 17th. It rained much, yet abundance of people came; and again God made bare His arm. I can now leave Edinburgh with comfort, for I have fully delivered my own soul.

Wed. 18th. I set out for Glasgow. In the afternoon the rain poured down, so that we were glad to take shelter in a little house, where I soon began to talk with our host's daughter, eighteen or nineteen years old. But, to my surprise, I found her as ignorant of the nature of religion as a Hottentot. And many such I have found in Scotland; able to read, nay, and repeat the Catechism, but wholly unacquainted with true religion, yea, and all genuine morality. This evening we were in the house, but the next I preached abroad to many more than the house could contain. On Friday the number was greatly increased, but much more on Saturday. I then enlarged upon communion with God, as the only real, scriptural religion; and I believe many felt that, with all their orthodoxy, they had no religion still.

What a difference there is between the society here and that at Dundee! There are about sixty members there, and scarce more than six scriptural believers. Here are seventy-four members, and near thirty among them lively, zealous believers and several of them have been for many years rejoicing in God their Saviour.

Sun. 22. At seven I was obliged to preach abroad, and the word sunk deep into the hearers. I almost wondered at myself for speaking so plain, and wondered how they could bear it. It is the Lord's doing! In the afternoon Mr. Gillies was unusually close and convincing. At five I preached on "Oh that thou hadst known, at

least in this thy day, the things that make for thy peace!" I almost despaired of making the whole congregation hear, but by their behaviour it seems they did. In the close I enlarged upon their prejudices, and explained myself with regard to most of them. Shame, concern, and a mixture of various passions were painted on most faces; and I perceived the Scots, if you touch but the right key, receive as lively impressions as the English.

Mon. 23rd. We rode in a mild, cool day to Thornhill, about sixty (measured) miles from Glasgow. Here I met with Mr. Knox's History of the Church of Scotland; and could any man wonder if the members of it were more fierce, sour, and bitter of spirit than some of them are? For what a pattern have they before them! I know it is commonly said, "The work to be done needed such a spirit." Not so; the work of God does not, cannot need the work of the devil to forward it. And a calm, even spirit goes through rough work far better than a furious one. Although, therefore, God did use, at the time of the Reformation, some sour, overbearing, passionate men, yet He did not use them because they were such, but notwithstanding they were so. And there is no doubt He would have used them much more had they been of a humbler and milder spirit.

Tues. 24th. Before eight we reached Dumfries, and after a short bait pushed on in hopes of reaching Solway Firth before the sea was coming in. Designing to call at an inn by the Firth side, we inquired the way, and were directed to leave the main road and go straight to the house which we saw before us. In ten minutes Duncan Wright was embogged. However, the horse plunged on, and got through. I was inclined to turn back; but Duncan telling me I needed only go a little to the left, I did so, and sunk at once to my horse's shoulders. He sprung up twice, and twice sunk again, each time deeper than before. At the third plunge he threw me on one side, and we both made shift to scramble out. I was covered with fine, soft mud from my feet to the crown of my head; yet, blessed be God, not hurt at all. But we could not cross till between seven and eight o'clock. An honest man crossed with us, who went two miles out of his way to guide us over the sands to Skinburness, where we found a little clean house, and passed a comfortable night.(1)

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March, 1767

Thurs. 26th. We rode through miserable roads to Solway Firth; but the guides were so deeply engaged in a cock-fight that none could be procured to show us over. We procured one, however, between three and four. But there was more sea than we expected, so that notwithstanding all I could do, my legs and the skirts of my coat were in the water. The motion of the waves made me a little giddy; but it had a stranger effect on Mr. Atlay--he lost his sight, and was just dropping off his horse when one of our fellow travellers caught hold of him. We rode on nine or ten miles and lodged at a village called Ruthwell.

(1) Journal vol. V pp. 167-172.

Fri. 27th. We rode by Dumfries and the Bridge of Urr, over the military way, to Gate-house-of-Fleet; but the house was filled with so noisy a company that we expected little rest. Before eleven, however, I fell asleep, and heard nothing more till between three and four in the morning.

Sat. 28th. We rode to Portpatrick.(1)

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Tenth Journey. August, 1767.

Wed. 29th. I hasted on to Donaghadee, but found all the packet-boats were on the other side. So I agreed with the captain of a small vessel, and went on board about two o'clock; but it was so late when we landed (after a passage of five hours, that we could only reach Stranraer that night.

Thurs. 30th. We rode through a country swiftly improving to Ayr, and passed a quiet and comfortable night.

Fri. 31st. Before two we reached Glasgow. In the evening I preached, and again at five in the morning.

Aug. 1st. Sat. As both my horse and myself were a little tired, I took the stagecoach to Edinburgh.

Before I left Glasgow I heard so strange an account that I desired to hear it from the person himself. He was a sexton, and yet for many years had little troubled himself about religion. I set down his words, and leave every man to form his own judgment upon them: "Sixteen weeks ago I was walking, an hour before sunset, behind the high kirk; and, looking on one side, I saw one close to me, who looked in my face, and asked me how I did. I answered, 'Pretty well.' He said, 'You have had many troubles; but how have you improved them?' He then told me all that ever I did; yea, and the thoughts that had been in my heart; adding, 'Be ready for my second coming.' And he was gone, I knew not how. I trembled all over, and had no strength in me; but sunk down to the ground. From that time I groaned continually under the load of sin, till at the Lord's Supper it was all taken away."

Sun. 2nd. I was sorry to find both the society and the congregations smaller than when I was here last. I impute this chiefly to the manner of preaching which had been generally used. The people have been told, frequently and strongly, of their coldness, deadness, heaviness, and littleness of faith, but very rarely of anything that would move thankfulness. Hereby many were driven

(1) Wesley was on his way to Ireland and took the route to Portpatrick, a quite common port of departure for Ireland in the eighteenth century. While in no sense a part of his Scottish preaching itinerary it is included in order that there may be a complete record of his visits to Scotland.

away, and those that remained were kept cold and dead.

I encouraged them strongly at eight in the morning; and about noon preached upon the Castle Hill, on "There is joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth." The sun shone exceeding hot upon my head; but all was well; for God was in the midst of us. In the evening I preached on Luke XX, 34, etc., and many were comforted; especially while I was enlarging on these deep words, "Neither can they die any more, but are equal to the angels, and are the children of God, being the children of the resurrection."

Mon. 3rd. I visited as many as I could, sick and well, and endeavoured to confirm them. In the evening I preached at seven, and again at nine. We concluded about twelve. One then came to me with an unexpected message. A gentleman in the west of Scotland was a serious, sensible man, but violently attached both to the doctrine and discipline of the kirk. His eldest daughter dreamed some months since that she was poisoned, and must die in an hour. She waked in the utmost consternation, which issued in a deep conviction of sin. Soon after she had an earnest desire to see me, though not perceiving any possibility of it. But business calling Mr. H-- to Edinburgh, he brought her with him, three days before I came. On Sunday morning he heard the preaching for the first time, and afterwards omitted no opportunity. He now sent his daughter to beg I would come, if possible to the west; and to desire that I, or any of our preachers, would make his house our home.

Tues. 4th. I rode to Dunbar, and endeavoured, if possible, to rouse some of the sleepers, by strongly, yea, roughly, enforcing those words, "Lord, are there few that be saved?" And this I must say for the Scots in general, I know no men like them for bearing plain dealing. (1)

Eleventh Journey. April-May, 1768.

Mon. 18th. Taking horse at four, I reached Solway Firth before eight, and, finding a guide ready, crossed without delay, dined at Dumfries, and then went on to Drumlanrig.

Tues. 19th. I rode through a heavy rain to Glasgow. On Thursday and Friday I spoke to most of the members of the society. I doubt we have few societies in Scotland like this. The greater part of those I saw, not only have found peace with God, but continue to walk in the light of His countenance. Indeed that wise and good man Mr. G(illies) has been of great service to them, encouraging them, by all possible means, to abide in the grace of God.

Sat. 23rd. I rode over the mountains to Perth. I had received magnificent accounts of the work of God in this place; so that I expected to find a numerous and lively society. Instead of this, I found not above two believers, and scarce five awakened persons in it. Finding I had all to begin, I spoke exceeding plain in the

(1) Journal vol. V, pp. 224, 225.

evening to about a hundred persons at the room; but, knowing this was doing nothing, on Sunday the 24th I preached about eight at the end of Watergate. A multitude of people were soon assembled, to whom I cried aloud, "Seek ye the Lord while He may be found; call ye upon Him while he is near." All were deeply attentive, and I had a little hope that some were profited.

At the old kirk we had useful sermons, both in the morning and at five in the afternoon. Immediately after service I preached on "God forbid that I should glory, save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ." The congregation was so exceeding large that I doubt many could not hear. After preaching, I explained the nature of a Methodist society; adding that I should not look on any persons at Perth as such unless they spoke to me before I left the city. Four men and four women did speak to me, two of whom I think were believers; and one or two more seemed just awakening, and darkly feeling after God. In truth, the kingdom of God, among these, is as yet but a grain of mustard-seed.

Mon. 25th. Mr. F(raser), minister of a neighbouring parish, desired us to breakfast with him. I found him a serious, benevolent, sensible man, not bigoted to any opinions. I did not reach Brechin till it was too late to preach.

Tues. 26th. I came to Aberdeen. Here I found a society truly alive, knit together in peace and love. The congregations were large both morning and evening, and, as usual, deeply attentive; but a company of strolling players, who have at length found place here also, stole away the gay part of the hearers. Poor Scotland! Poor Aberdeen! This only was wanting to make them as completely irreligious as England.

Fri. 29th. I read over an extremely sensible book, but one that surprised me much. It is An Inquiry into the Proofs of the Charges commonly advanced against Mary, Queen of Scotland. By means of original papers, he has made it more clear than one would imagine it possible at this distance (1) that she was altogether innocent of the murder of Lord Darnley, and no way privy to it; (2) that she married Lord Bothwell (then near seventy years old, herself but four-and-twenty) from the pressing instance of the nobility in a body, who at the same time assured her he was innocent of the king's murder; (3) that Murray, Morton, and (Maitland of) Lethington themselves contrived that murder in order to charge it upon her, as well as forged those vile letters and sonnets which they palmed on the world for hers.

"But how, then, can we account for the quite contrary story, which has been almost universally received?" Most easily. It was penned and published in French, English, and Latin (by Queen Elizabeth's order), by George Buchanan, who was secretary to Lord Murray, and in Queen Elizabeth's pay; so he was sure to throw dirt enough. Nor was she at liberty to answer for herself. "But what, then, was Queen Elizabeth?" As just and merciful as Nero, and as good a Christian as Mahomet.

May 1st. Sun. I preached at seven in the new room; in the afternoon, at the college kirk, in Old Aberdeen. At six, knowing our house could not contain the congregation, I preached in the Castle-gate, on the paved stones. A large number of people were all attention; but there were many rude, stupid creatures round about them, who knew as little of reason as of religion; I never saw such brutes in Scotland before. One of them threw a potato, which fell on my arm.⁽¹⁾ I turned to them; and some were ashamed.

Mon. 2nd. I set out early from Aberdeen, and about noon preached in Brechin. After sermon the provost desired to see me, and said, "Sir, my son had epileptic fits from his infancy: Dr. Ogilvie prescribed for him many times, and at length told me he could do no more. I desired Mr. Blair last Monday to speak to you. On Tuesday morning my son said to his mother he had just been dreaming that his fits were gone, and he was perfectly well. Soon after I gave him the drops you advised. He is perfectly well, and has not had one fit since." In the evening I preached to a large congregation at Dundee. They heard attentively, but seemed to feel nothing. The next evening I spoke more strongly, and to their hearts rather than their understanding; and I believe a few felt the word of God sharp as a two-edged sword.

Thurs.th 5. We rode through the pleasant and fruitful Carse of Gowrie, a plain, fifteen or sixteen miles long between the river Tay and the mountains, very thickly inhabited, to Perth. In the afternoon we walked over to the royal palace at Scone. It is a large old house, delightfully situated, but swiftly running to ruin. Yet there are a few good pictures and some fine tapestry left in what they call the Queen's and the King's chambers. And what is more curious, there is a bed and a set of hangings in the (once) royal apartment, which was wrought by poor Queen Mary while she was imprisoned in the Castle of Lochleven. It is some of the finest needlework I ever saw, and plainly shows both her exquisite skill and unwearied industry...

(A gap in Journal here till May 14th.)

May 14th. Sat. I walked once just through Holyrood House, a noble pile of building; but the greatest part of it left to itself, and so (like the palace at Scone) swiftly running to ruin. The tapestry is dirty, and quite faded; the fine ceiling dropping down; and many of the pictures in the gallery torn or cut through. This was the work of good General Hawley's soldiers (like general, like men), who, after running away from the Scots at Falkirk, revenged themselves on the harmless canvas!

Sun. 15th. At eight I preached in the High School yard; and I believe not a few of the hearers were cut to the heart. Between twelve and one a far larger congregation assembled on the Castle Hill; and I believe my voice commanded them all, while I opened and enforced those awful words, "I saw the dead, small and great, stand before God." In the evening our house was sufficiently crowded, even with the rich and honourable. Who hath warned "these" to

(1) This is the only instance I have found of violence being offered to Mr. Wesley in Scotland.

"flee from the wrath to come?" Oh may they at length awake and "arise from the dead"!

Mon. 16. I preached in the evening at Dunbar, near the shore, to an unusually large congregation.(1)

Twelfth Journey. April, 1770.

Sun. 15th.(being Easter Day.) Joseph Guilford preached at five. At eight I preached in a little square; but at one I was desired to preach in the market-place, where was a far more numerous congregation. Afterwards we took horse, and before eight reached an admirable inn at Dumfries.

Mon. 16th. We had a fair morning till we began to climb up Enterkin, one of the highest mountains in the west of Scotland. We then got into a Scotch mist, and were dropping wet before we came to the Leadhills. In the evening we reached Lesmahagow, and Glasgow on Tuesday, where I spent two days with much satisfaction. I had designed to go straight from hence to Perth; but being desired to take Edinburgh in my way, I rode thither on Friday, and endeavoured to confirm those whom many had strove to turn out of the way. What pity is it that the children of God should so zealously do the devil's work! How is it that they are still ignorant of Satan's devices? Lord, what is man?

Sat. 21st. Pushing through a violent wind and rain, we came to Perth in the afternoon. This evening the Tolbooth contained the congregation, and at eight in the morning. The stormy wind would not suffer me to preach abroad in the evening; so we retired into the court-house, as many as could, and had a solemn and comfortable hour.

Mon. 23rd. I walked over to Scone, and took another view of that palace of ancient men of renown, long since mouldered into common dust. The buildings, too, are now decaying apace. So passes the dream of human greatness!

Tues. 24th. I spent a few agreeable hours with Dr. Oswald, an upright, friendly, sensible man. Such, likewise, I found Mr. Black, the senior minister at Perth, who, soon after, went to Abraham's bosom.

Wed. 25th. Taking horse at five, we rode to Dunkeld, the first considerable town in the Highlands. We were agreeably surprised; a pleasanter situation cannot easily be imagined. Afterwards we went some miles on a smooth, delightful road, hanging over the river Tay, and then went on, winding through the mountains, to the Castle of Blair. The mountains, for the next twenty miles, were much higher, and covered with snow. In the evening we came to Dalwhinnie, the dearest inn I have met with in North Britain. In the morning we were informed so much snow had fallen in the night that we could get no farther. And, indeed, three young

(1) Journal vol. V, pp. 255-264.

women, attempting to cross the mountain to Blair, were swallowed up in the snow. However, we resolved, with God's help, to go as far as we could. But about noon we were at a full stop; the snow, driving together on the top of the mountain, had quite blocked up the road. We dismounted, and, striking out of the road warily, sometimes to the left, sometimes to the right, with many stumbles, but no hurt, we got on to Dalmigavie, and before sunset to Inverness.

Benjamin and William Chappel, who had been here three months, were waiting for a vessel to return to London. They had met a few people every night to sing and pray together; and their behaviour, suitable to their profession, had removed much prejudice.

Fri. 27th. I breakfasted with the senior minister, Mr. McKenzie, a pious and friendly man. At six in the evening I began preaching in the church, and with very uncommon liberty of spirit. At seven in the morning I preached in the library, a large commodious room; but it could not contain the congregation: many were constrained to go away. Afterwards I rode over to Fort George, a very regular fortification, capable of containing four thousand men. As I was just taking horse the commanding officer sent word I was welcome to preach. But it was a little too late: I had then but just time to ride back to Inverness.

Sun. 29th. At seven, the benches being removed, the library contained us tolerably well; and I am persuaded God shook the hearts of many outside Christians. I preached in the church at five in the afternoon. Mr. Helton designed to preach abroad at seven; but the ministers desired he would preach in the church, which he did, to a large and attentive congregation. Many followed us from the church to our lodgings, with whom I spent some time in prayer, and then advised them, as many as could, to meet together and spend an hour every evening in prayer and useful conversation.

Mon. 30th. We set out in a fine morning. A little before we reached Nairn we were met by a messenger from the minister, Mr. Dunbar; who desired I would breakfast with him, and give them a sermon in his church. Afterwards we hastened to Elgin, through a pleasant and well cultivated country. When we set out from hence the rain began, and poured down till we came to the Spey, the most impetuous river I ever saw. Finding the large boat was in no haste to move, I stepped into a small one, just going off. It whirled us over the stream almost in a minute. I waited at the inn at Fochabers (dark and dirty enough in all reason), till our friends overtook me with the horses. The outside of the inn at Keith was of the same hue, and promised us no great things. But we were agreeably disappointed. We found plenty of everything, and so dried ourselves at leisure.

May 1st. Tues. I rode on to Aberdeen, and spent the rest of the week there. It fell out well, for the weather was uncommon. We had storms of snow or rain every day. And it seems the weather was the same as far as London. So general a storm has scarce been

in the memory of man.

Sun. 6th. I preached at the College Kirk, at Old Aberdeen, to a serious (though mostly genteel) congregation. In the evening I preached at our own room, and early in the morning took my leave of this loving people. We came to Montrose about noon. I had designed to preach there; but found no notice had been given. However, I went down to the Green, and sung a hymn. People presently flocked from all parts, and God gave me greater freedom of speech; so that I hope we did not meet in vain.

At seven in the evening I preached at Arbroath (properly Aberbrothick). The whole town seems moved. The congregation was the largest I have seen since we left Inverness; and the society, though but of nine months' standing, is the largest in the kingdom, next that of Aberdeen.

Tues. 8th. I took a view of the small remains of the Abbey. I know nothing like it in all North Britain. I paced it, and found it a hundred yards long. The breadth is proportionable. Part of the west end, which is still standing, shows it was full as high as Westminster Abbey. The south end of the cross aisle likewise is standing, near the top of which is a large circular window. The zealous Reformers, they told us, burnt this down. God deliver us from reforming mobs!

I have seen no town in Scotland which increases so fast, or which is built with so much common-sense as this. Two entire new streets, and part of a third, have been built within these two years. They run parallel with each other, and have a row of gardens between them. So that every house has a garden; and thus both health and convenience are consulted.

Wed. 9th. I rode on to Dundee. The ministers here, particularly Mr. Small, are bitter enough; notwithstanding which the society is well established, and the congregation exceeding large. I dealt very plainly with them at six, and still more so the next evening; yet none appeared to be offended. Friday the eleventh I went forward to Edinburgh.

Sat. 12th. I received but a melancholy account of the state of things here. The congregations were nearly as usual; but the society which, when I was here before, consisted of above a hundred and sixty members, was now shrunk to about fifty. Such is the fruit of a single preacher's staying a whole year in one place! together with the labours of good Mr. Townsend.

Sun. 13th. At seven I preached in the chapel taken by Lady Glenorchy, which stands at a great distance from ours, in the most honourable part of the city. Between twelve and one I preached in the High School yard, it being too stormy to preach on the Castle Hill. A little before six I preached in our chapel, crowded above and below; but I doubt, with little effect: exceeding few seemed to feel what they heard.

Mon. 14th. After ten years' inquiry, I have learned what are the Highlands of Scotland. Some told me, "The Highlands begin when you cross the river Tay"; others, "when you cross the North Esk"; and others, "when you cross the river Spey": but all of them missed the mark. For the truth of the matter is, the Highlands are bounded by no river at all, but by cairns, or heaps of stones laid in a row, south-west and north-east, from sea to sea. These formerly divided the kingdom of the Picts from that of the Caledonians, which included all the country north of the cairns, several whereof are still remaining. It takes in Argyleshire, most of Perthshire, Morayshire, with all the northwest counties. This is called the Highlands, because a considerable part of it (though not the whole) is mountainous. But it is not more mountainous than North Wales, nor than many parts of England and Ireland; nor do I believe it has any mountain higher than Snowdon hill, or Skiddaw in Cumberland. Talking Erse, therefore, is not the thing that distinguishes these from the Lowlands. Neither is this or that river; both the Tay, the Esk, and the Spey running through the Highlands, not south of them.(1)

Thurs. 17th. At five in the morning I took a solemn leave of our friends at Edinburgh. About eight I preached at Musselburgh, and found some hope there will be blessing in the remnant. In the evening I preached in the new house at Dunbar, the cheerfullest in the kingdom.

Fri. 18th. We rode over to the Earl of Haddington's seat, finely situated between two woods. The house is exceeding large and pleasant, commanding a wide prospect both ways; and the Earl is cutting walks through the woods, smoothing the ground, and much enlarging and beautifying his garden. Yet he is to die! In the evening I trust God broke some of the stony hearts of Dunbar. A little increase here is in the society likewise; and all the members walk unblameably.(2)

Thirteenth Journey. April, 1772.

Tues. 14th. I set out for Carlisle. A great part of the road was miserably bad. However, we reached it in the afternoon, and found a small company of plain, loving people. The place where they had appointed me to preach was out of the gate; yet it was tolerably filled with attentive hearers. Afterwards, inquiring for Glasgow road, I found it was not much round to go by Edinburgh; so I chose that road, and went five miles forward this evening, to one of our friends' houses. Here we had a hearty welcome sub lare parvulo, with sweet and quiet rest.

Wed. 15th. Though it was a lone house, we had a large congregation at five in the morning. Afterwards we rode for upwards of twenty miles, through a most delightful country; the fruitful mountains rising on either hand, and the clear stream running beneath.

(1) See note Journal p. 367.

(2) Journal vol. V, pp. 362-368.

In the afternoon we had a furious storm of rain and snow: however, we reached Selkirk safe. Here I observed a little piece of stateliness which was quite new to me: the maid came in and said, "Sir, the lord of the stable waits to know if he should feed your horses." We call him ostler in England. After supper all the family seemed glad to join us in prayer.

Thurs. 16th. We went on through the mountains, covered with snow, to Edinburgh.

Fri. 17th. (being good Friday.) I went to the Episcopal chapel, and was agreeably surprised: not only the prayers were read well, seriously, and distinctly, but the sermon, upon the sufferings of Christ, was sound and unexceptionable. Above all, the behaviour of the whole congregation, rich and poor, was solemn and serious.

Sat. 18th. I set out for Glasgow. One would rather have imagined it was the middle of January than the middle of April. The snow covered the mountains on either hand, and the frost was exceeding sharp; so I preached within, both this evening and on Sunday morning. But in the evening the multitude constrained me to stand in the street. My text was, "What God hath cleansed, that call not thou common." Hence I took occasion to fall upon their miserable bigotry for opinions and modes of worship. Many seemed to be not a little convinced; but how long will the impression continue?

Mon. 20th. I went on to Greenock, a seaport town, twenty miles west of Glasgow. It is built very much like Plymouth Dock, and has a safe and spacious harbour. The trade and inhabitants, and consequently the houses, are increasing swiftly; and so is the cursing, swearing, drunkenness, Sabbath-breaking, and all manner of wickedness. Our room is about thrice as large as that at Glasgow; but it would not near contain the congregation. I spoke exceedingly plain, and not without hope that we may see some fruit, even among this hard-hearted generation.

Tues. 21st. The house was very full in the morning; and they showed an excellent spirit; for after I had spoke a few words on the head, every one stood up at the singing. In the afternoon I preached at Port Glasgow, a large town, two miles east of Greenock. Many gay people were there, careless enough; but the greater part seemed to hear with understanding. In the evening I preached at Greenock; and God gave them a loud call, whether they will hear or whether they will forbear.

Wed. 22nd. About eight I preached once more in the Masons' Lodge at Port Glasgow. The house was crowded greatly; and I suppose all the gentry of the town were a part of the congregation. Resolving not to shoot over their heads, as I had done the day before, I spoke strongly of death and judgment, heaven and hell. This they seemed to comprehend; and there was no more laughing among them, or talking with each other; but all were quietly and deeply attentive.

In the evening, when I began at Glasgow, the congregation being but small, I chose a subject fit for experienced Christians; but soon after a heap of fine gay people came in. Yet I could not decently break off what I was about, though they gaped and stared abundantly. I could only give a short exhortation in the close more suited to their capacity.

Thursday the 23rd was the fast before the Lord's Supper. It was kept as a Sunday--no shops open or business done. Three ministers came to assist Mr. Gillies, with whom I had much conversation. They all seemed to be pious as well as sensible men. As it rained in the evening, I preached in the Grammar School--a large, commodious room. I know not that ever I spoke more plain, nor perhaps with more effect.

Fri. 24th. We had a large congregation at five, and many of the rich and gay among them. I was aware of them now, and they seemed to comprehend perfectly well what it is to 'be ashamed of the gospel of Christ". I set out at seven; in the evening I preached at Edinburgh on "My son, give me thy heart," and, after preaching in the morning, on Saturday the 25th set out for the north.

I reached Perth in the evening, and sent to the Provost to desire the use of the Guildhall, in which I preached Sunday the 26th in the morning and (it being very cold) in the evening. Afterwards I accepted of the Provost's invitation to lodge at his house, and spent an agreeable evening with him, and three ministers, concluded with solemn prayer.

Mon. 27th. I spent three or four hours in conversation with Dr. Oswald and Mr. Fraser, two as pious and sensible ministers as any I know in Scotland. From Methven we went on to Dunkeld, once the capital of the Caledonian kingdom, now a small town standing on the bank of the Tay and at the foot of several rough, high mountains. The air was sharp, yet the multitude of people constrained me to preach abroad; and, I trust, not in vain, for great was the power of God in the midst of them.

Tues. 28th. We walked through the Duke of Athol's gardens, in which was one thing I never saw before--a summer-house in the middle of a greenhouse, by means of which one might in the depth of winter enjoy the warmth of May and sit surrounded with greens and flowers on every side.

In the evening I preached once more at Perth to a large and serious congregation. Afterwards they did me an honour I never thought of--presented me with the freedom of the city. The diploma ran thus:

Magistratum illustris ordo et honorandus senatorum coetus inclyttae civitatis Perthensis, indebiti amoris et affectuum tesseram erga Johannem W(esley), immunitatibus praefatae civitatis, societatis etiam et fraternitatis aedilitiae privilegis donarunt. Aprilis die 28^o anno Sa. 1772^o.

I question whether any diploma from the city of London be more pompous or expressed in better Latin.

In my way to Perth I read over the first volume of Dr. Robertson's History of Charles the Fifth. I know not when I have been so disappointed. It might as well be called the History of Alexander the Great. Here is a quarto volume of eight or ten shillings' price containing dry, verbose dissertations on feudal government, the substance of all which might be comprised in half a sheet of paper! But "Charles the Fifth"! Where is Charles the Fifth?

Leave off thy reflections, and give us thy tale!

Wed. 29th. I went on to Brechin, and preached in the town hall to a congregation of all sorts--Seceders, Classites, Non-jurors, and what not. Oh what excuse have ministers in Scotland for not declaring the whole counsel of God, where the bulk of the people not only endure, but love, plain dealing? Friday and Saturday I rested at Aberdeen.

May 3rd. Sun. I went in the morning to the English Church. Here likewise I could not but admire the exemplary decency of the congregation. This was the more remarkable because so miserable a reader I never heard before. Listening with all attention, I understood but one single word, "Balak", in the First Lesson, and more, "begat", was all I could possibly distinguish in the Second. Is there no man of spirit belonging to this congregation? Why is such a burlesque upon public worship suffered? Would it not be far better to pay this gentleman for doing nothing than for doing mischief, or bringing scandal upon religion?

About three I preached at the College kirk in the Old Town, to a large congregation, rich and poor; at six in our own house, on the Narrow Way. I spoke exceeding plain, both this evening and the next; yet none were offended. What encouragement has every preacher in this country, "by manifestation of the truth", to commend himself "to every man's conscience in the sight of God"!

Tues. 5th. I read over in my journey Dr. Beattie's ingenious Inquiry after Truth. He is a writer quite equal to his subject, and far above the match of all the "minute philosophers", David Hume in particular--the most insolent despiser of truth and virtue that ever appeared in the world. And yet it seems some complain of this Doctor's using him with too great severity! I cannot understand how that can be, unless he treated him with rudeness (which he does not), since he is an avowed enemy to God and man, and to all that is sacred and valuable upon earth.

In the evening I preached in the new house at Arbroath. In this town there is a change indeed! It was wicked to a proverb; remarkable for Sabbath-breaking, cursing, swearing, drunkenness, and a general contempt of religion. But it is not so now. Open wickedness disappears; no oaths are heard, no drunkenness seen in the streets. And many have not only ceased from evil, and learned to do well, but are witnesses of the inward kingdom of God,

"righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost."

Wed. 6th. The magistrates here also did me the honour of presenting me with the freedom of their corporation. I value it as a token of their respect, though I shall hardly make any use it.

Thurs. 7th. I took Thomas Cherry away with me; but it was too late; he will hardly recover. Let all observe (that no more preachers may murder themselves), here is another martyr to screaming!

We had a huge congregation in the evening at Dundee, it being the fast-day before the sacrament. Never in my life did I speak more plain or close: let God apply it as pleaseth Him.

Fri. 8th. I laboured to reconcile those who (according to the custom of the place) were vehemently contending about nothing.

Sat. 9th. I went to Edinburgh.

Sun. 10th. I attended the Church of England service in the morning, and that of the Kirk in the afternoon. Truly "no man having drunk old wine, straightway desireth new." How dull and dry did the latter appear to me, who had been accustomed the former! In the evening I endeavoured to reach the hearts of a large congregation, by applying part of the Sermon on the Mount; and I am persuaded God applied it with power to many consciences.

Mon. 11th. I spoke severally to the members of the society as closely as I could. Out of ninety (now united) I scarce found ten of the original society: so indefatigable have the good ministers been to root out the seed God has sown in their hearts.

Tues. 12th. I preached at Ormiston, ten miles south of Edinburgh, to a large and deeply serious congregation. I dined at the minister's, a sensible man, who heartily bid us God-speed. But he soon changed his mind: Lord H(opetown) informed him that he had received a letter from Lady Huntingdon, assuring him that we were "dreadful heretics, to whom no countenance should be given". It is a pity! Should not the children of God leave the devil to do his own work?

Wed. 13th. I preached at Leith, in the most horrid, dreary room I have seen in the kingdom. But the next day I found another kind of room--airy, cheerful, and lightsome; which Mr. Parker undertook to fit up for the purpose, without any delay.

Sun. 17th. I had appointed to preach at noon in the Lady's Walk at Leith; but being offered the use of the Episcopal chapel, I willingly accepted it, and both read prayers and preached. Here also the behaviour of the congregation did honour to our church.

Mon. 18th. Dr. Hamilton(1) brought with him Dr. Munro and Dr.

(1) See account of Methodism in Dunbar.

Gregory. They satisfied me what my disorder was, and told me there was but one method of cure. Perhaps but one natural one; but I think God has more than one method of healing either the soul or the body.

In the evening (the weather being still severe) I preached in the new house at Leith to a lovely audience on "Narrow is the way that leadeth unto life." Many were present again at five in the morning. How long have we toiled here almost in vain! Yet I cannot but hope God will at length have a people even in this place.

Wed. 20th. I took my leave of Edinburgh in the morning by strongly enforcing the Apostle's exhortation, "Be careful for nothing; but in everything by prayer and supplication with thanksgiving let your requests be made known unto God."

I had designed to preach (as usual) at Provost Dickson's, in Haddington, in the way to Dunbar. But the Provost, too, had received light from the "Circular Letter", and durst not receive those heretics. So we went round by the Marquis of Tweeddale's seat, completely finished within and without. But he that took so much delight in it is gone to his long home, and has left it to one that has no taste or regard for it. So rolls the world away! In the evening I preached at Dunbar.

Thurs. 21st. I went to the Bass, seven miles from it, which, in the horrid reign of Charles the Second, was the prison of those venerable men who suffered the loss of all things for a good conscience. It is a high rock surrounded by the sea, two or three miles in circumference, and about two miles from the shore. The strong east wind made the water so rough that the boat could hardly live; and when we came to the only landing-place (the other sides being quite perpendicular), it was with much difficulty that we got up, climbing on our hands and knees. The castle, as one may judge by what remains, was utterly inaccessible. The walls are still seen near the top of the rock, with the well in the midst of it. And round the walls there are spots of grass that feed eighteen or twenty sheep. But the proper natives of the island are Soland geese, a bird about the size of a Muscovy duck, which bred by thousands, from generation to generation, on the sides of the rock. It is peculiar to these that they lay but one egg, which they do not sit upon at all, but keep it under one foot (as we saw with our eyes) till it is hatched. How many prayers did the holy men confined here offer up in that evil day! And how many thanksgivings should we return for all the liberty, civil and religious, which we enjoy!

At our return we walked over the ruins of Tantallon Castle, once the seat of the great Earls of Douglas. The front walls (it was four-square) are still standing, and by their vast height and huge thickness give us a little idea of what it once was. Such is human greatness!

Fri. 22nd. We took a view of the famous Roman camp, lying on

a mountain two or three miles from the town. It is encompassed with two broad and deep ditches, and is not easy of approach on any side. Here lay General Leslie with his army, while Cromwell was starving below. He had no way of escape; but the enthusiastic fury of the Scots delivered him. When they marched into the valley to swallow him up, he mowed them down like grass.(1)

Fourteenth Journey. May, 1774.

Mon. 9th. I set out for Scotland. At eight I preached in the Castle-yard at Cocker-mouth to abundance of careless people, on "Where their worm dieth not, the fire is not quenched." In the evening I preached at Carlisle. On Tuesday I went on to Selkirk, and on Wednesday to Edinburgh, which is distant from Carlisle ninety-five miles and no more.

Thurs. 12th. I went in the stage-coach to Glasgow; and on Friday and Saturday preached, on the old Green, to a people the greatest part of whom hear much, know everything, and feel nothing.

Sun. 15th. My spirit was moved within me at the sermons I heard both morning and afternoon. They contained much truth, but were no more likely to awaken one soul than an Italian opera. In the evening a multitude of people assembled on the Green, to whom I earnestly applied these words, "Though I have all knowledge... though I have all faith... though I give all my goods to feed the poor, and have not love, I am nothing."

Mon. 16th. In the afternoon, as also at seven in the morning, I preached in the kirk at Port Glasgow. My subjects were Death and Judgment, and I spoke as home as I possibly could. The evening congregation at Greenock was exceedingly large. I opened and enforced these awful words, "Strait is the gate, and narrow is the way, that leadeth unto life." I know not that ever I spoke more strongly. And some fruit of it quickly appeared, for the house, twice as large as that at Glasgow, was thoroughly filled at five in the morning. In the evening, Tuesday the 17th, I preached on the Green at Glasgow once more, although the north wind was piercing cold. At five in the morning I commended our friends to God.

How is it there is no increase in this society? It is exceeding easy to answer. One preacher stays here two or three months at a time, preaching on Sunday mornings and three or four evenings in a week. Can a Methodist preacher preserve either bodily health or spiritual life with this exercise? And if he is but half alive, what will the people be? Just so it is at Greenock too.

Wed. 18th. I went to Edinburgh, and on Thursday to Perth. Here likewise the morning preaching had been given up: consequently the people were few, dead, and cold. These things must be remedied, or we must quit the ground.

(1) Journal vol. V, pp. 453-462.

In the way to Perth I read that ingenious tract, Dr. Gregory's Advice to His Daughters. Although I cannot agree with him in all things (particularly as to dancing, decent pride, and both a reserve and a delicacy which I think are quite unnatural), yet I allow there are many fine strokes therein, and abundance of common sense. And if a young woman followed this plan in little things, in such things as daily occur, and in great things copied after Miranda, she would form an accomplished character.

Fri. 20th. I rode over to Mr. Fraser's, at Monydie, whose mother-in-law was to be buried that day. Oh what a difference is there between the English and the Scotch method of burial! The English do honour to human nature, and even to the poor remains, that were once the temple of the Holy Ghost! But when I see in Scotland a coffin put into the earth, and covered up without a word spoken it reminds me of what was spoken concerning Jehoiakim, "He shall be buried with the burial of an ass!"

Sat. 21st. I returned to Perth, and preached in the evening to a large congregation. But I could not find the way to their hearts. The generality of the people here are so wise that they need no more religion! Who can warn them that are brimful of Wisdom and goodness to flee from the wrath to come?

Sun. 22nd. I endeavoured to stir up this drowsy people by speaking as strongly as I could at five on "Awake, thou that sleepest"; at seven on "Where their worm dieth not", and in the evening on I saw the dead, small and great, stand before God." In the afternoon a young gentleman, in the west kirk, preached such a close, practical sermon on "Enoch walked with God" as I have not heard since I came into the kingdom.

Mon. 23rd. About ten I preached to a considerable number of plain, serious country people at Rait, a little town in the middle of that lovely valley called the Carse of Gowrie. In riding on to Dundee I was utterly amazed at reading and considering a tract put into my hands, which gave a fuller account than I had ever seen of the famous Gowrie conspiracy of 1600. And I was thoroughly convinced--(1) from the utter improbability, if one should not rather say absurdity, of the King's account, the greater part of which rests entirely on his own single word; (2) from the many contradictions in the depositions which were made to confirm some parts of it; and (3) from the various collateral circumstances, related by contemporary writers, that the whole was a piece of king-craft, the clumsy invention of a covetous and blood-thirsty tyrant to destroy two innocent men, that he might kill and also take possession of their large fortunes.

In the evening I preached at Dundee, and on Tuesday the 24th went on to Arbroath. In the way I read Lord K(ames)' plausible Essays on the Principles of Morality and Natural Religion. Did ever man take so much pains to so little purpose as he does in his essay on "Liberty and Necessity"? Cui Bono? What good would it do to mankind if he could convince them that they are a mere piece of clockwork; that they have no more share in directing their own

actions than in directing the sea or the north wind? He owns that "if men saw themselves in this light all sense of moral obligation, of right and wrong, of good or ill desert, would immediately cease." Well, my lord sees himself in this light; consequently, if his own doctrine is true, he has no "sense of moral obligation, of right and wrong, of good or ill desert." Is he not, then, excellently well qualified for a judge? Will he condemn a man for not "holding the wind in his fist"?

The high and piercing wind made it impracticable to preach abroad in the evening; but the house contained the people tolerably well, as plain and simple as those at Rait. I set out early in the morning; but, not being able to ford the North Esk, swollen with the late rains, was obliged to go round some miles. However, I reached Aberdeen in the evening.

Here I met with another curious book, Sketches of the History of Man. Undoubtedly the author is a man of strong understanding, lively imagination, and considerable learning, and his books contains some useful truths. Yet some things in it gave me pain: (1) His affirming things that are not true, as that all negro children turn black the ninth or tenth day from their birth. No: most of them turn partly black on the second day, entirely so on the third. That all the Americans are of a copper colour. Not so: some of them are as fair as we are. Many more such assertions I observed, which I impute not to design but to credulity (2) His flatly contradicting himself, many times within a page or two (3) His asserting, and labouring to prove, that man is a mere piece of clockwork. And, lastly, his losing no opportunity of vilifying the Bible, to which he appears to bear a most cordial hatred. I marvel if any but his brother infidels will give two guineas for such a work as this!

Sun. 29th. At seven the congregation was large. In the evening the people were ready to tread upon each other. I scarce ever saw people so squeezed together. And they seemed to be all ear while I exhorted them, with strong and pointed words, not to receive "the grace of God in vain."

Mon. 30th. I set out early from Aberdeen, and preached at Arbroath in the evening. I know no people in England who are more loving and more simple of heart than these.

Tues. 31st. I preached at East Haven, a small town inhabited by fishermen. I suppose all the inhabitants were present, and all were ready to devour the word. In the evening I preached at Dundee, and had great hope that brotherly love would continue.

In my way hither I read Dr. Reid's ingenious essay. With the former part of it I was greatly delighted; but afterwards I was much disappointed. I doubt whether the sentiments are just; but I am sure his language is so obscure that to most readers it must be mere Arabic. But I have a greater objection than this--namely, his exquisite want of judgment in so admiring that prodigy of self-

conceit, Rousseau--a shallow but supercilious infidel, two degrees below Voltaire! Is it possible that a man who admires him can admire the Bible?

June 1st. Wed. I went on to Edinburgh, and the next day examined the society one by one. I was agreeably surprised. They have fairly profited since I was here last. Such a number of persons having sound Christian experience I never found in this society before. I preached in the evening to a very elegant congregation, and yet with great enlargement of heart.

Sat. 4th. I found uncommon liberty at Edinburgh in applying Ezekiel's vision of the dry bones. As I was walking home two men followed me, one of whom said, "Sir, you are my prisoner. I have a warrant from the sheriff to carry you to the Tolbooth." At first I thought he jested; but, finding the thing was serious, I desired one or two of our friends to go up with me. When we were safe lodged in a house adjoining to the Tolbooth, I desired the officer to let me see his warrant. I found the prosecutor was one George Sutherland, once a member of the society. He had deposed "That Hugh Saunderson, one of John Wesley's preachers, had taken from his wife one hundred pounds in money and upwards of thirty pounds in goods, and had, besides that, terrified her into madness; so that, through the want of her help and the loss of business, he was damaged five hundred pounds."

Before the Sheriff, Archibald Cockburn, Esq., he had deposed "That the said John Wesley and Hugh Saunderson, to evade her pursuit, were preparing to fly the country; and therefore he desired his warrant to search for, seize, and incarcerate them in the Tolbooth till they should find security for their appearance." To this request the Sheriff had assented and given his warrant for that purpose.

But why does he incarcerate John Wesley? Nothing is laid against him, less or more. Hugh Saunderson preaches in connection with him. What then? Was not the sheriff strangely overseen?

Mr. Sutherland furiously insisted that the officer should carry us to the Tolbooth without delay. However, he waited till two or three friends came and gave a bond for our appearance on the 24th instant. Mr. S(aunderson) did appear, the cause was heard, and the prosecutor fined one thousand pounds.

Sun. 5th. About eight I preached at Ormiston, twelve miles from Edinburgh. The house being small, I stood in the street and proclaimed "the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ." The congregation behaved with the utmost decency. So did that on the Castle Hill in Edinburgh at noon, though I strongly insisted that God "now commandeth all men everywhere to repent." In the evening the house was thoroughly filled, and many seemed deeply affected. I do not wonder that Satan, had it been in his power, would have had me otherwise employed this day.

Wed. 8th. I took my leave of our affectionate friends, and in the evening preached at Dunbar. Thursday the 9th, the wind being high, I preached in the court-house at Alnwick,...(1)

Fifteenth Journey. May, 1776.

Tues. 7th. I went on to Selkirk. The family came to prayer in the evening, after which the mistress of it said, "Sir, my daughter Jenny would be very fond of having a little talk with you. She is a strange lass; she will not come down on the Lord's Day but to public worship, and spends all the rest of the day in her own chamber." I desired she would come up; and found one that earnestly longed to be altogether a Christian. I satisfied her mother that she was not mad; and spent a little time in advice, exhortation, and prayer.

Wed. 8th. We set out early, but found the air so keen that before noon our hands bled as if cut with a knife. In the evening I preached at Edinburgh; and the next evening near the river-side in Glasgow.

Fri. 10th. I went to Greenock. It being their fast-day before the sacrament (ridiculously so called, for they do not fast at all, but take their three meals, just as on other days), the congregation was larger than when I was here before, and remarkably attentive. The next day I returned to Glasgow, and on Sunday the 12th went in the morning to the High Kirk (to show I was no bigot), and in the afternoon to the Church of England chapel. The decency of behaviour here surprises me, more and more. I know nothing like it in these kingdoms, except among the Methodists. In the evening the congregation by the river-side was exceeding numerous; to whom I declared "the whole, counsel of God."

Mon. 13th. I returned to Edinburgh, and the next day went to Perth, where (it being supposed no house would contain the congregation) I preached at six on the South Inch, though the wind was cold and boisterous. Many are the stumbling-blocks which have been laid in the way of this poor people. They are removed, but the effects of them still continue.

Wed. 15th. I preached at Dundee to nearly as large a congregation as that at Port Glasgow.

Thurs. 16th. I attended an ordination at Arbroath. The service lasted about four hours; but it did not strike me. It was doubtless very grave; but I thought it was very dull.

Fri. 17th. I reached Aberdeen in good time.

Sat. 18th. I read over Dr. Johnson's Tour to the Western Isles. It is a very curious book, wrote with admirable sense, and, I think, great fidelity; although, in some respects, he is thought

(1) Journal vol. VI, pp. 19-24.

to bear hard on the nation, which I am satisfied he never intended.

Sun. 19th. I attended the morning service at the kirk, full as formal as any in England; and no way calculated either to awaken sinners or to stir up the gift of God in believers. In the afternoon I heard a useful sermon in the English chapel; and was again delighted with the exquisite decency both of the minister and the whole congregation. The Methodist congregations come the nearest to this; but even these do not come up to it. Our house was sufficiently crowded in the evening; but some of the hearers did not behave like those at chapel.

Mon. 20th. I preached about eleven at Old Meldrum, but could not reach Banff till near seven in the evening. I went directly to the Parade, and proclaimed to a listening multitude "the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ." All behaved well but a few gentry, whom I rebuked openly; and they stood corrected.

After preaching, Mrs. Gordon, the Admiral's widow, invited me to supper. There I found five or six as agreeable women as I have seen in the kingdom; and I know not when I have spent two or three hours with greater satisfaction. In the morning I was going to preach in the assembly-room, when the Episcopal minister sent and offered me the use of his chapel. It was quickly filled. After reading prayers, I preached on those words in the Second Lesson, "What lack I yet?" and strongly applied them to those in particular who supposed themselves to be "rich and increased in goods, and lacked nothing." I then set out for Keith.

Banff is one of the neatest and most elegant towns that I have seen in Scotland. It is pleasantly situated on the side of a hill, sloping from the sea, though close to it; so that it is sufficiently sheltered from the sharpest winds. The streets are straight and broad. I believe it may be esteemed the fifth, if not the fourth, town in the kingdom. The county quite from Banff to Keith is the best peopled of any I have seen in Scotland. This is chiefly, if not entirely, owing to the late Earl of Findlater. He was indefatigable in doing good, took pains to procure industrious men from all parts, and to provide such little settlements for them as enabled them to live with comfort.

About noon I preached at the Newmill, nine miles from Banff, to a large congregation of plain, simple people. As we rode in the afternoon the heat overcame me, so that I was weary and faint before we came to Keith; but I no sooner stood up in the marketplace than I forgot my weariness; such were the seriousness and attention of the whole congregation, though as numerous as that at Banff. Mr. Gordon, the minister of the parish, invited me to supper, and told me his kirk was at my service. A little society is formed here already; and is in a fair way of increasing. But they were just now in danger of losing their preaching-house, the owner being determined to sell it. I saw but one way to secure it for them, which was to buy it myself. So (who would have thought it?) I bought an estate, consisting of two houses, a yard, a garden,

with three acres of good land. But he told me flat, "Sir, I will take no less for it than sixteen pounds ten shillings, to be paid, part now, part at Michaelmas, and the residue next May."

Here Mr. Gordon showed me a great curiosity. Near the top of the opposite hill a new town is built, containing, I suppose, a hundred houses, which is a town of beggars. This, he informed me, was the professed, regular occupation of all the inhabitants. Early in spring they all go out, and spread themselves over the kingdom, and in autumn they return and do what is requisite for their wives and children.

Wed. 22nd. The wind turning north, we stepped at once from June to January. About one I preached at Inverurie to a plain, earnest, loving people, and before five came to Aberdeen.

Thurs. 23rd. I read over Mr. Pennant's Journey Through Scotland; a lively as well as judicious writer. Judicious, I mean in most respects; but I cannot give up to all the Deists in Great Britain the existence of witchcraft till I give up the credit of all history, sacred and profane. And at the present time I have not only as strong, but stronger proofs of this, from eye and ear witnesses, than I have of murder; so that I cannot rationally doubt of one any more than the other.

Fri. 24th. I returned to Arbroath, and lodged at Provost Grey's. So, for a time we are in honour! I have hardly seen such another place in the three kingdoms as this is at present. Hitherto there is no opposer at all, but every one seems to bid us God-speed!

Sat. 25th. I preached at West Haven (a town of fishermen) about noon, and at Dundee in the evening.

Sun. 26th. I went to the new church, cheerful, lightsome, and admirably well finished. A young gentleman preached such a sermon, both for sense and language, as I never heard in North Britain before, and I was informed his life is as his preaching. At five we had an exceeding large congregation; and the people of Dundee, in general, behave better at public worship than any in the kingdom, except the Methodists and those at the Episcopal chapels. In all other kirks the bulk of the people are bustling to and fro before the minister has ended his prayer. In Dundee all are quiet, and none stir at all till he has pronounced the blessing.

Mon. 27th. I paid a visit to St. Andrews, once the largest city in the kingdom. It was eight times as large as it is now, and a place of very great trade; but the sea, rushing from the north-east, gradually destroyed the harbour and trade together, in consequence of which whole streets (that were) are now meadows and gardens. Three broad, straight, handsome streets remain, all pointing at the old cathedral, which, by the ruins, appears to have been above three hundred feet long, and proportionably broad.

and high; so that it seems to have exceeded York Minster, and to have at least equalled any cathedral in England. Another church, afterwards used in its stead, bears date 1124. A steeple standing near the cathedral is thought to have stood thirteen hundred years.

What is left of St. Leonard's College is only a heap of ruins. Two colleges remain. One of them has a tolerable square, but all the windows are broke, like those of a brothel. We were informed the students do this before they leave the college. Where are their blessed Governors in the meantime? Are they all fast asleep? The other college is a mean building, but has a handsome library newly erected. In the two colleges, we learned, were about seventy students; near the same number as at Old Aberdeen. Those at New Aberdeen are not more numerous; neither those at Glasgow. In Edinburgh I suppose there are a hundred. So four universities contain three hundred and ten students! These all come to their several colleges in November, and return home in May! So they may study five months in the year, and lounge all the rest! Oh where was the common sense of those who instituted such colleges? In the English colleges every one may reside all the year, as all my pupils did; and I should have thought myself little better than a highwayman if I had not lectured them every day in the year but Sundays.

We were so long detained at the Passage that I only reached Edinburgh time enough to give notice of my preaching the next day. After preaching at Dunbar, Alnwick, and Morpeth, on Saturday, June 1st, I reached Newcastle.(1)

Sixteenth Journey. May, 1779.

Wed. 26th. We had such a congregation at Dunbar as I have not seen there for many years.

Thurs. 27th. I went on to Edinburgh. I was agreeably surprised at the singing in the evening. I have not heard such female voices, so strong and clear, anywhere in England.

Fri. 28th. I went to Glasgow and preached in the house, but the next evening by the river-side.

Sun. 30th. At seven I spoke exceeding strong words in applying the parable of the Sower. In the afternoon I went to the English chapel. But how was I surprised! Such decency have I seldom seen even at West Street or the new room in Bristol. (1) All, both men and wome, were dressed plain: I did not see one high head; (2) no one took notice of any one at coming in, but, after a short ejaculation, sat quite still; (3) none spoke to anyone during the service, nor looked either on one side or the other; (4) all stood every man, woman, and child, while the Psalms were sung; (5) instead of an unmeaning voluntary was an anthem, and one of the simplest and sweetest I ever heard; (6) the prayers, preceding a

(1) Journal vol. VI, pp. 105-111.

sound, useful sermon, were seriously and devoutly read; (7) after service, none bowed or curtsied or spoke, but went quietly and silently away.

After church, I preached again by the river-side, to a huge multitude of serious people; I believe full as many more as we had the Sunday before at Newcastle. Surely we shall not lose all our labour here.

Mon. 31st. I returned to Edinburgh; and, June 1st, I set out on my northern Journey. In the evening I preached at Dundee. The congregation was, as usual, very large and deeply attentive. But that was all. I did not perceive that any one was affected at all. I admire this people; so decent; so serious, and so perfectly unconcerned.

Wed 2nd. We went on to Arbroath, where was near as large a congregation as at Dundee, but nothing so serious. The poor Glassites here, pleading for a merely notional faith, greatly hinder either the beginning or the progress of any real work of God.

Thurs. 3rd. I preached at Aberdeen to a people that can feel as well as hear.

Fri. 4th. I set out for Inverness, and about eight preached at Inverurie to a considerable number of plain country people, just like those we see in Yorkshire. My spirit was much refreshed among them, observing several of them in tears. Before we came to Strathbogie (now new-named Huntly), Mr. Brackenbury was much fatigued. So I desired him to go into the chaise, and rode forward to Keith.

Mr. Gordon, the minister, invited us to drink tea at his house. In the evening I went to the market-place. Four children, after they had stood a while to consider, ventured to come near me; then a few men and women crept forward; till we had upwards of a hundred. At nine on Sunday the 6th I suppose they were doubled; and some of them seemed a little affected. I dined at Mr. Gordon's, who behaved in the most courteous, yea, and affectionate manner. At three I preached in the kirk, one of the largest I have ever seen in the kingdom, but very ruinous. It was thoroughly filled, and God was there in an uncommon manner. He sent forth His voice, yea, and that a mighty voice; so that I believe many of the stout-hearted trembled. In the evening I preached once more in the market-place, on those awful words "Where their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched."

Mon. 7th. I came to Grange Green, near Forres, about twelve o'clock. But I found the house had changed its master since I was here before, nine years ago. Mr. Grant (who then lived here in his brother's house) was now Sir Lodovick Grant; having succeeded to the title and estate of Sir Alexander, dying without issue. But his mind was not changed with his fortune. He received me with cordial affection, and insisted on my sending for Mrs. Smith

and her little girl, whom I had left at Forres.(1) We were all here as at home, in one of the most healthy and most pleasant situations in the kingdom; and I had the satisfaction to observe my daughter sensibly recovering her strength almost every hour. In the evening all the family were called in to prayers; to whom I first expounded a portion of Scripture. Thus ended this comfortable day. So has God provided for us in a strange land!

Tues. 8th. I found another hearty welcome from Mr. Dunbar, the minister of Nairn. A little after ten I preached in his kirk, which was full from end to end. I have seldom seen a Scotch congregation so sensibly affected. Indeed it seemed that God smote the rocks, and brake the hearts of stone in pieces.

In the afternoon I reached Inverness, but found a new face of things there. Good Mr. M'Kenzie had been for some year's removed to Abraham's bosom. Mr. Fraser, his colleague, a pious man of the old stamp, was likewise gone to rest. The three present ministers are of another kind; so that I have no more place in the kirk; and the wind and rain would not permit me to preach on the Green. However, our house was large, though gloomy enough. Being now informed (which I did not suspect before) that the town was uncommonly given to drunkenness, I used the utmost plainness of speech; and I believe not without effect. I then spent some time with the society, increased from twelve to between fifty and sixty. Many of these knew in whom they had believed, and many were going on to perfection; so that all the pains which have been taken to stop the work of God here have hitherto been in vain.

Wed 9th. We had another rainy day, so that I was again driven into the house; and again I delivered my own soul, to a larger congregation than before. In the morning we had an affectionate parting, perhaps to meet no more. I am glad, however, that I have made three journeys to Inverness. It has not been lost labour.

Between ten and eleven I began preaching at Nairn. The house was pretty well filled again; and many more of the gentry were there than were present on Tuesday. It pleased God to give me again liberty of speech in opening and applying those words, "God is a Spirit; and they that worship Him, must worship Him in spirit and in truth."

About two we reached Sir Lodovick Grant's. In the evening we had a very serious congregation. Afterwards I spent an hour very agreeably with the family and two or three neighbouring gentlemen.

Fri. 11th. We did not stop at Keith, but went on to Strathbogie. Here we were in a clean, convenient house, and had everything we wanted. All the family very willingly joined us in prayer. We then slept in peace.

(1) See note Journal vol. VI, p. 237.

Sat. 12th. About one I preached at Inverurie, to a larger congregation than before, and was again refreshed with the simplicity and earnestness of the plain country people. In the evening I preached at Aberdeen.

Sun. 13th. I spoke as closely as I could, both morning and evening, and made a pointed application to the hearts of all that were present. I am convinced that this is the only way whereby we can do any good in Scotland. This very day I heard many excellent truths delivered in the kirk; but, as there was no application, it was as likely to do as much good as the singing of a lark. I wonder the pious ministers in Scotland are not sensible of this. They cannot but see that no sinners are convinced of sin, none converted to God, by this way of preaching. How strange is it, then, that neither reason nor experience teaches them to take a better way.

Mon. 14th. I preached again at Arbroath, Tuesday the 15th at Dundee, and Wednesday the 16th at Edinburgh.

Thurs. 17th. I examined the society. In five years I found five members had been gained!--ninety-nine being increased to a hundred and four. What, then, have our preachers been doing all this time? (1) They have preached four evenings in the week, and on Sunday morning; the orther mornings they have fairly given up. (2) They have taken great care not to speak too plain, lest they should give offense. (3) When Mr. Brackenbury preached the old Methodist doctrine one of them said, "You must not preach such doctrine here. The doctrine of Perfection is not calculated for the meridian of Edinburgh." Waiving, then, all other hindrances, is it any wonder that the work of God has not prospered here?

On Friday and Saturday I preached with all possible plainness; and some appeared to be much stirred up. On Sunday the 20th I preached at eight and at half an hour past twelve; and God gave us a parting blessing. I was in hopes of preaching abroad at Dunbar in the evening, but the rain would not permit. (1)

Seventeenth Journey. May, 1780.

Mon. 15th. I set out for Scotland, and Tuesday the 16th came to Berwick-upon-Tweed. Such a congregation I have not seen there for many years. Perhaps the seed which has so long seemed to be sown in vain may at length produce a good harvest.

Wed. 17th. I went on to Dunbar. I have seldom seen such a congregation here before. Indeed, some of them seemed at first disposed to mirth, but they were soon as serious as death. And truly the power of the Lord was present to heal those that were willing to come to the throne of Grace.

(1) Journal vol. VI, pp. 235-240.

Thurs. 18th. I read, with great expectation, Dr. Watt's Essay on Liberty; but I was much disappointed. It is abstruse and metaphysical. Surely he wrote it either when he was very young or very old. In the evening I endeavoured to preach to the hearts of a large congregation at Edinburgh. We have cast much "bread upon the waters" here. Shall we not "find it again" at least "after many days"?

Fri. 19th. I preached at Joppa, a settlement of colliers, three miles from Edinburgh. Some months ago, as some of them were cursing and swearing, one of our local preachers, going by, re-proved them. One of them followed after him and begged he would give them a sermon. He did so several times. Afterwards the travelling preachers went, and a few quickly agreed to meet together. Some of them now know in whom they have believed, and walk worthy of their profession.

Sat. 20th. I took one more walk through Holyrood House, the mansion of ancient kings. But how melancholy an appearance does it make now? The stately rooms are dirty as stables, the colours of the tapestry are quite faded, several of the pictures are cut and defaced. The roof of the royal chapel is fallen in, and the bones of James the Fifth and the once beautiful Lord Darnley are scattered about like those of sheep or oxen. Such is human greatness! Is not "a living dog better than a dead lion"?

Sun. 21st. The rain hindered me from preaching at noon upon the Castle Hill. In the evening the house was well filled, and I was enabled to speak strong words. But I am not a preacher for the people of Edinburgh. Hugh Saunderson and Michael Fenwick are more to their taste.

Tues. 23rd. A gentleman took me to see Roslin Castle, eight miles from Edinburgh. It is now all in ruins; only a small dwelling-house is built on one part of it. The situation of it is exceeding fine, on the side of a steep mountain, hanging over a river, from which another mountain rises, equally steep, and clothed with wood. At a little distance is the chapel, which is in perfect preservation, both within and without. I should never have thought it had belonged to anyone less than a sovereign prince! the inside being far more elegantly wrought with variety of Scripture histories in stonework than I believe can be found again in Scotland; perhaps not in all England. Hence we went to Dunbar.

Wed. 24th. In the afternoon I went through the lovely garden of a gentleman in the town, who has laid out walks hanging over the sea and winding among the rocks. One of them leads to the castle wherein that poor injured woman Mary, Queen of Scots, was confined. But time has wellnigh devoured it; only a few ruinous walls are now standing.

Thurs. 25th. We went on to Berwick. (1)

(1) Journal vol. VI, pp. 278-280.

Mon. 27th. I set out for Scotland, and, Wednesday the 29th, reached Dunbar. The weather was exceeding rough and stormy, yet we had a large and serious congregation.

Thurs. 30th. Finding the grounds were so flooded that the common roads were not passable, we provided a guide to lead us a few miles round, by which means we came safe to Edinburgh.

Fri. 31st. As I lodged with Lady Maxwell at Saughton Hall (a good old mansion-house, three miles from Edinburgh), she desired me to give a short discourse to a few of her poor neighbors. I did so, at four in the afternoon, on the story of Dives and Lazarus. About seven I preached in our house at Edinburgh, and fully delivered my own soul.

June 1st, Sat. I spent a little time with forty poor children, whom Lady Maxwell keeps at school. They are swiftly brought forward in reading and writing, and learn the principles of religion. But I observe in them all the ambitiosa paupertas. Be they ever so poor, they must have a scrap of finery. Many of them have not a shoe to their foot; but the girl in rags is not without her ruffles.

Sun. 2nd. Mr. Collins intended to have preached on the Castle Hill at twelve o'clock; but the dull minister kept us in the kirk till past one. At six the house was well filled; and I did not shun to declare the whole counsel of God. I almost wonder at myself. I seldom speak anywhere so roughly as in Scotland. And yet most of the people hear and hear, and are just what they were before.

Mon. 3rd. I went on to Dundee. The congregation was large and attentive, as usual. But I found no increase, either of the society or of the work of God.

Tues. 4th. The house at Arbroath was well-filled with serious and attentive hearers. Only one or two pretty flutterers seemed inclined to laugh, if any would have encouraged them.

Wed. 5th. We set out early, but did not reach Aberdeen till between five and six in the evening. The congregations were large both morning and evening, and many of them much alive to God.

Fri. 7th. We received a pleasing account of the work of God in the north. The flame begins to kindle even at poor, dull Keith; but much more at a little town near Fraserburgh; and most of all at Newburgh, a small fishing-town, fifteen miles from Aberdeen, where the society swiftly increases. And not only men and women, but a considerable number of children, are either rejoicing in God or panting after Him.

Sat. 8th. I walked with a friend to Mr. Leslie's seat, less than a mile from the city. It is one of the pleasantest places of

the kind I ever saw, either in Britain or Ireland. He has laid his gardens out on the side of a hill, which gives a fine prospect both of sea and land; and the variety is beyond what could be expected within so small a compass. But still--

Valeat possessor oportet,

Si comportatis rebus bene cogitat uti.

Unless a man have peace within, he can enjoy none of the things that are around about him.

Sun. 9. We had a lovely congregation in the morning, many of whom were athirst for full salvation. In the evening God sent forth His voice, yea, and that a mighty voice. I think few of the congregation were unmoved; and we never had a more solemn parting.

Mon. 10th. We went to Arbroath; Tuesday the 11th to Dundee; and Wednesday the 12th to Edinburgh. We had such congregations both that evening and the next as had not been on a week-day for many years; some fruit of our labours here we have already. Perhaps this is a token that we shall have more.

Fri. 14th. We travelled through a pleasant country to Kelso, where we were cordially received by Dr. Douglas. I spoke strong words in the evening, concerning judgment to come; and some seemed to wake out of sleep. But how shall they keep awake, unless they "that fear the Lord speak often one to another"?

Sat. 15th. As I was coming downstairs, the carpet slipped from under my feet, which, I know not how, turned me round, and pitched me back, with my head foremost, for six or seven stairs. It was impossible to recover myself till I came to the bottom. My head rebounded once or twice from the edge of the stone stairs. But it felt to me exactly as if I had fallen on a cushion or a pillow. Dr. Douglas ran out, sufficiently affrighted. But he needed not. For I rose as well as ever; having received no damage, but the loss of a little skin from one or two of my fingers. Doth not God give His angels charge over us, to keep us in all our ways?

In the evening, and on Sunday the 16th, I preached at Alnwick. (1)

Nineteenth Journey. April, 1784.

Fri. 23rd. We travelled through a lovely country to Longtown, the last town in England, and one of the best built in it, for all the houses are new from one end to the other. The road from hence to Longholm is delightfully pleasant, running mostly by the side of a clear river. But it was past seven before we reached Selkirk.

Sat. 24th. We had frost in the morning, snow before seven, piercing winds all day long, and in the afternoon vehement hail, so that I did not wonder we had a small congregation at Edinburgh

(1) Journal vol. VI, pp. 353-358.

in the evening.

Sun. 25th. I attended the Tolbooth kirk at eleven. The sermon was very sensible, but, having no application, was no way likely to awaken drowsy hearers. About four I preached at Lady Maxwell's house, two or three miles from Edinburgh, and at six in our own house. For once it was thoroughly filled. I preached on "God is a spirit, and they that worship Him must worship Him in spirit and in truth." I am amazed at this people. Use the most cutting words, and apply them in the most pointed manner, still they hear, but feel no more than the seats they sit upon!

Mon. 26th. I went to Glasgow and preached in the evening to a very different congregation. Many attended in the morning, although the morning preaching had been long discontinued both here and at Edinburgh. In the evening many were obliged to go away, the house not being able to contain them.

Wed. 28th. We found the same inconvenience, but those who could get in found a remarkable blessing.

Thurs. 29th. The house was thoroughly filled at four, and the hearts of the people were as melting wax. Afterwards I returned to Edinburgh, and in the evening the house was well filled. So that we must not say "the people of Edinburgh love the word of God only on the Lord's Day."

Fri. 30th. We went to Perth, now but the shadow of what it was, though it begins to lift up its head. It is certainly the sweetest place in all North Britain, unless perhaps Dundee. I preached in the Tolbooth to a large and well-behaved congregation. Many of them were present again at five in the morning, May 1st. I then went to Dundee, through the Carse of Gowrie, the fruitfull-est valley in the kingdom. And I observe a spirit of improvement prevails in Dundee, and all the country round about it. Handsome houses spring up on every side. Trees are planted in abundance. Wastes and commons are continually turned into meadows and fruitful fields. There wants only a proportionable improvement in religion, and this will be one of the happiest countries in Europe. In the evening I preached in our own ground to a numerous congregation; but the next afternoon to one far more numerous, on whom I earnestly enforced, "How long halt ye between two opinions?" Many of them seemed almost persuaded to halt no longer; but God only knows the heart.

Mon. 3rd. I was agreeably surprised at the improvement of the land between Dundee and Arbroath. Our preaching-house at Arbroath was completely filled. I spoke exceeding plain on the difference of building upon the sand and building upon the rock. Truly these "approve the things that are excellent," whether they practise them or not.

I found this to be a genuine Methodist society. They are all thoroughly united to each other; they love and keep our Rules;

they long and expect to be perfected in love; if they continue so to do, they will and must increase in number as well as in grace.

Tues. 4th. I reached Aberdeen between four and five in the afternoon.

Wed. 5th. I found the morning preaching had been long discontinued, yet the bands and the select society were kept up. But many were faint and weak for want of morning preaching and prayer-meetings, of which I found scarce any traces in Scotland.

In the evening I talked largely with the preachers, and showed them the hurt it did both to them and the people for any one preacher to stay six or eight weeks together in one place. Neither can he find matter for preaching every morning and evening, nor will the people come to hear him. Hence he grows cold by lying in bed, and so do the people. Whereas, if he never stays more than a fortnight together in one place, he may find matter enough, and the people will gladly hear him. They immediately drew up such a plan for this circuit, which they determined to pursue.

Thurs. 6th. We had the largest congregation at five which I have seen since I came into the kingdom. We set out immediately after preaching, and reached Old Meldrum about ten. A servant of Lady Banff's was waiting for us there, who desired I would take post-horses to Forglen. In two hours we reached an inn, which, the servant told us, was four little miles from her house. So we made the best of our way, and got thither in exactly three hours. All the family received us with the most cordial affection. At seven I preached to a small congregation, all of whom were seriously attentive, and some, I believe, deeply affected.

Fri. 7th. I took a walk round about the town. I know not when I have seen so pleasant a place. One part of the house is an ancient castle, situated on the top of a little hill. At a small distance runs a clear river, with a beautiful wood on its banks. Close to it is a shady walk to the right, and another on the left hand. On two sides of the house there is abundance of wood; on the other, a wide prospect over fields and meadows. About ten I preached again with much liberty of spirit on "Love never faileth." About two I left this charming place, and made for Keith. But I know not how we could have got thither had not Lady Banff sent me forward, through that miserable road, with four stout horses.

I preached about seven to the poor of this world. Not a silk coat was seen among them; and to the greatest part of them at five in the morning. And I did not at all regret my labour.

Sat. 8th. We reached the banks of the Spey. I suppose there are few such rivers in Europe. The rapidity of it exceeds even that of the Rhine; and it was now much swelled with melting snow. However, we made shift to get over before ten, and about twelve reached Elgin. Here I was received by a daughter of good Mr.

Plenderleith, late of Edinburgh, with whom having spent an agree-hour, I hastened towards Forres. But we were soon at full stop again; the river Findhorn also was so swollen that we were afraid the ford was not passable. However, having a good guide, we passed it without much difficulty. I found Sir Lodovick Grant almost worn out. Never was a visit more seasonable. By free and friendly conversation his spirits were so raised that I am in hopes it will lengthen his life.

Sun. 9th. I preached to a small company at noon on "His commandments are not grievous." As I was concluding Colonel Grant and his lady came in, for whose sake I began again, and lectured, as they call it, on the former part of the fifteenth chapter of St. Luke. We had a larger company in the afternoon, to whom I preached on "judgment to come." And this subject seemed to affect them most.

Mon. 10th. I set out for Inverness. I had sent Mr. M'Allum before, on George Whitefield's horse, to give notice of my coming. Hereby I was obliged to take both George and Mrs. M'Allum with me in my chaise. To ease the horses, we walked forward from Nairn, ordering Richard to follow us as soon as they were fed. He did so, but there were two roads. So, as we took one and he the other, we walked about twelve miles and a half of the way through the heavy rain. We then found Richard waiting for us at a little ale house, and drove on to Inverness. But, blessed be God, I was no more tired than when I set out from Nairn. I preached at seven to a far larger congregation than I had seen here since I preached in the kirk. And surely the labour was not in vain, for God sent a message to many hearts.

Tues. 11th. Notwithstanding the long discontinuance of morning preaching, we had a large congregation at five. I breakfasted at the first house I was invited to at Inverness, where good Mr. M'Kenzie then lived. His three daughters live in it now, one of whom inherits all the spirit of her father. In the afternoon we took a walk over the bridge into one of the pleasantest countries I have seen. It runs along by the side of the clear river, and is well cultivated and well wooded. And here first we heard abundance of birds, welcoming the return of spring. The congregation was larger this evening than the last, and great part of them attended in the morning. We had then a solemn parting, as we could hardly expect to meet again in the present world.

Wed. 12th. I dined once more at Sir Lodovick Grant's, whom likewise I scarce expect to see any more. His lady is lately gone to rest, and he seems to be swiftly following her. A church being offered me at Elgin, in the evening I had a multitude of hearers, whom I strongly exhorted to "seek the Lord while He may be found."

Thurs. 13th. We took a view of the poor remains of the once-magnificent cathedral. By what ruins are left, the workmanship appears to have been exquisitely fine. What barbarians must they have been who hastened the destruction of this beautiful pile by taking the lead off the roof!

The church was again well filled in the evening, by those who seemed to feel much more than the night before. In consequence, the morning congregation was more than doubled; and deep attention sat on every face. I do not despair of good being done even here, provided the preachers be "sons of thunder."

Fri. 14th. We saw, at a distance, the Duke of Gordon's new house, six hundred and fifty feet in front. Well might the Indian ask, "Are you white men no bigger than we red men? Then why do you build such lofty houses?" The country between this and Banff is well cultivated, and extremely pleasant. About two I read prayers and preached in the Episcopal chapel at Banff, one of the neatest towns in the kingdom. About ten I preached in Lady Banff's dining-room at Forglen, to a very serious though genteel congregation; and afterwards spent a most agreeable evening with the lovely family.

Sat. 15th. We set out early, and dined at Aberdeen. On the way I read Ewen Cameron's reasonable contradiction. But what a poet was Ossian! Little inferior to either Homer or Virgil; in some respects superior to both. And what an hero is Fingal! Far more humane than Hector himself, whom we cannot excuse for murdering one that lay upon the ground; and with whom Achilles, or even pious Aeneas, is not worthy to be named. But who is this excellent translator, Ewen Cameron? Is not his other name Hugh Blair?

Sun. 16th. I went to Newburgh, a small fishing town, fifteen miles north of Aberdeen. Here is at present, according to its bigness, the liveliest society in the kingdom. I preached here in a kind of Square, to a multitude of people; and the whole congregation appeared to be moved, and ready to prepare for the Lord.

At two in the afternoon Mr. Black read prayers, and I preached in Trinity chapel. It was crowded with people of all denominations. I preached from I Cor. XIII; 1, 2, 3, in utter defiance of their common saying, "He is a good man, though he has bad tempers." Nay, if he has bad tempers, he is no more a good man than the devil is a good angel. At five I preached in our own chapel, exceeding crowded, on the form and power of godliness. I am now clear of these people, and can cheerfully commend them to God.

Mon. 17th. I reached Arbroath, and inquired into that odd event which occurred there in the latter end of the last war. The famous Captain Fall came one afternoon to the side of the town, and sent three men on shore, threatening to lay the town in ashes unless they sent him thirty thousand pounds. That not being done, he began firing on the town the next day, and continued it till night. But, perceiving the country was alarmed, he sailed away the next day, having left some hundred cannon-balls behind him; but not having hurt man, woman, or child, or anything else, save one old barn-door.

Tues. 18th. I preached at Dundee.

Wed. 19th. I crossed over the pleasant and fertile county of Fife to Melville House, the grand and beautiful seat of Lord Leven. He was not at home, being gone to Edinburgh as the King's Commissioner; but the Countess was, with two of her daughters, and both her sons-in-law. At their desire I preached in the evening on "It is appointed unto man once to die"; and I believe God made the application.

Thurs. 20th. It blew a storm; nevertheless, with some difficulty, we crossed the Queen's Ferry.

Fri. 21st. I examined the society, and found about sixty members left. Many of these were truly alive to God, so our labour here is not quite in vain.

Sat. 22nd. I had some close conversation with L(ady) M(axwell), who appeared to be clearly saved from sin, although exceedingly depressed by the tottering tenement of clay. About noon I spent an hour with her poor scholars, forty of whom she has provided with a serious master, who takes pains to instruct them in the principles of religion, as well as in reading and writing. A famous actress, just come down from London (which, for the honour of Scotland, is just during the sitting of the Assembly), stole away a great part of our congregation to-night. How much wiser are these Scots than their forefathers!

Sun. 23rd. I went in the morning to the Tolbooth kirk; in the afternoon to the old Episcopal chapel. But they have lost their glorying; they talked the moment service was done, as if they had been in London. In the evening the Octagon was well filled; and I applied, with all possible plainness, "God is a Spirit; and they that worship Him must worship Him in spirit and in truth."

Mon. 24th. I preached at Dunbar.

Tues. 25th. I spent an hour with Mr. and Mrs. F(all), a woman every way accomplished. Neither of them had ever yet heard a sermon out of the kirk, but they ventured that evening, and I am in hope they did not hear in vain.

Wed. 26th. We went on to Berwick-upon-Tweed. The congregation in the town-hall was very numerous. So it was likewise at five in the morning.

Thurs. 27th. We travelled through a delightful country to Kelso. Here the two seceding ministers have taken true pains to frighten the people from hearing us, by retailing all the ribaldry of Mr. Cudworth, Toplady, and Rowland Hill. But God has called one of them to his account already, and in a fearful manner. As no house could contain the congregation, I preached in the churchyard, and a more decent behaviour I have scarce seen. Afterwards we walked to the Duke of Roxburghe's seat, about half a mile from the

town, finely situated on a rising ground, near the ruins of Roxburgh Castle. It has a noble castle; the front and the offices make it look like a little town. Most of the apartments within are furnished in an elegant but not in a costly manner. I doubt whether two of Mr. Lascelles's rooms at Harewood House did not cost more in furnishing than twenty of these. But the Duke's house is far larger, containing no less than forty bed-chambers. But it is not near finished yet, nor probably will be till the owner is no more seen. (1)

Twentieth Journey. May, 1786.

Fri. 12th. I preached at Carlisle, and on Saturday the 13th, after a long day's journey, at Glasgow. After spending three days here fully employed, on Wednesday the 17th we went on to Edinburgh. Here likewise I had much and pleasant work. On Friday the 19th I went forward to Dundee, and on Saturday the 20th to Arbroath, where I spent the Lord's day in the Lord's work.

Mon. 22nd. Having a long day's journey before us, we set out, at half-hour past three; so we came early to Aberdeen.

Wed. 24th. We had an exceeding solemn parting, as I reminded them that we could hardly expect to see each other's face any more till we met in Abraham's bosom.

Thurs. 25th. We set out early; but when we came to Bervie, the inn was full; there was no room for man or beast; so we were constrained to go a double stage, to Montrose. But the storm was so high we could not pass for several hours. However, we reached Arbroath soon after six, and a large congregation was deeply attentive while I applied "To him that hath shall be given; but from him that hath not shall be taken away even what he assuredly hath."

The storm was still so high that, unless we set out at night, we could not pass till nine in the morning. So we went on board at eleven. The wind was so strong that the boat could scarce keep above water. However, our great Pilot brought us safe to land between one and two in the morning.

Sat. 27th. About three we came to the New Inn, and rested till between six and seven. Thence, going gently on to Kinghorn, we had a pleasant passage to Leith. After preaching, I walked to my lovely lodging at Coates, and found rest was sweet.

Sun. 29th. I preached first at our own house, and at noon on the Castle Hill. I never saw such a congregation there before. But the chair was placed just opposite to the sun. But I soon forgot it while I expounded those words, "I saw the dead, small and great, stand before God." In the evening the whole audience seemed to feel, "Without holiness no man shall see the Lord."

(1) Journal vol VI, pp. 498-512.

Tues. 30th. I had the happiness of conversing with the Earl of Haddington and his Lady, at Dunbar. I could not but observe both the easiness of his behaviour (such as we find in all the Scottish nobility), and the fineness of his appearance, greatly set off by a milk-white head of hair.

Wed. 31st. I took a view of the stupendous bridge, about ten miles from Dunbar, which is thrown over the deep glen that runs between the two mountains, commonly called the Pease. I doubt whether Louis the Fourteenth ever raised such a bridge as this.

In the evening I preached at Berwick-upon-Tweed; Thursday, June 1st, at Alnwick.(1)

Twenty-first Journey. May, 1788.

Tues. 13th. To-day we went through Lovely roads to Dumfries. Indeed, all the roads are wonderfully mended since I last travelled this way. Dumfries is beautifully situated; but as to wood and water, and gently rising hills, etc., is, I think, the neatest, as well as the most civilized town that I have seen in the kingdom. Robert Dall soon found me out. He has begun building a preaching-house, larger than any in Scotland, except those in Glasgow and Edinburgh! In the evening I preached abroad in a convenient street on one side of the town. Rich and poor attended from every quarter, of whatever denomination; and every one seemed to hear for life. Surely the Scots are the best hearers in Europe!

Wed. 14th. At five I was importuned to preach in the preaching house; but such a one I never saw before. It had no windows at all, so that, although the sun shone bright, we could see nothing without candles. But I believe our Lord shone on many hearts while I was applying those words, "I will, be thou clean." I breakfasted with poor Mr. Ashton, many years ago a member of our society in London; but far happier now in his little cottage than ever he was in his prosperity.

When I was in Scotland first, even at a nobleman's table we had only flesh-meat of one kind, but no vegetables of any kind; but now they are as plentiful here as in England. Near Dumfries there are five very large public gardens, which furnish the towns with greens and fruit in abundance.

The congregation in the evening was nearly double to that we had the last, and, if it was possible, more attentive. Indeed, one or two gentlemen, so called laughed at first; but they quickly disappeared, and all were still while I explained the worship of God in spirit and in truth. Two of the clergy followed me to my lodging, and gave me a pressing invitation to their houses. Several others intended, it seems, to do the same; but, having a long journey before me, I left Dumfries earlier in the morning

(1) Journal vol. VII, pp. 162-166.

than they expected. We set out on Thursday the 15th at four, and reached Glasgow, Friday the 16th, before noon. Much of the country as we came is now well improved, and the wilderness become a fruitful field.

Our new preaching house will, I believe, contain about as many as the chapel at Bath. But oh the difference! It has the pulpit on one side, and has exactly the look of a Presbyterian meeting-house. It is the very sister of our house at Brentford. Perhaps an omen of what will be when I am gone. I preached at seven to a tolerably large congregation, and to many of them at five in the morning. At six in the evening they were increased fourfold; but still I could not find the way to their hearts.

Sun. 18th. I preached at eleven on the parable of the Sower, at half-past two on Psalms I. 23, and in the evening on "Now abideth faith, hope, love; these three." I subjoined a short account of Methodism, particularly insisting on the circumstances: There is no other religious society under heaven which requires nothing of men in order to their admission into it but a desire to save their souls. Look all round you: you cannot be admitted into the Church, or society of the Presbyterians, Anabaptists, Quakers, or any others, unless you hold the same opinions with them, and adhere to the same mode of worship.

The Methodists alone do not insist on your holding this or that opinion; but they think and let think. Neither do they impose any particular mode of worship; but you may continue to worship in your former manner, be it what it may. Now, I do not know any other religious society, either ancient or modern, wherein such liberty of conscience is now allowed, or has been allowed, since the age of the apostles. Here is our glorying; and a glorying peculiar to us. What society shares it with us?

Mon. 19th. I went to Edinburgh, and preached to a much larger congregation than I used to see here on a week-day. I still find a frankness and openness in the people of Edinburgh which I find in few other parts of the kingdom. I spent two days among them with much satisfaction; and I was not at all disappointed, in finding no such increase, either in the congregation or the society, as many expected from their leaving the Kirk.

Thurs. 22nd. The house at Dalkeith being far too small, even at eight in the morning to contain the congregation, I preached in a garden on "Seek ye the Lord while He may be found"; and, from the eager attention of the people, I could not but hope that some of them would receive the truth in love. In the evening I preached in the house at Dunbar, tolerably well filled, on Job XXII; 21, I believe with--

The spirit of convincing speech:

But much more at five in the morning, Friday the 23rd. And will God manifest His power among these dry bones also?

Immediately after preaching we set out. How is the face of

this country changed in a few years! It was, twenty years ago, dreary enough; but it is now as a pleasant garden. But what is most remarkable is the bridge which connects the two mountains, the Pease, together--one of the noblest works in Great Britain, unless you would except the bridge at Edinburgh, which lies directly across the Cowgate. So that one street (a thing not heard of before) runs under another.

About noon we came to Berwick-upon-Tweed; but, the town being all in a hurry, on occasion of the fair, so that I could not conveniently preach in the market-house, I was glad that Mr. Atcheson, the Presbyterian minister, offered me the use of his chapel. It was a large, commodious place. Several of his hearers attended; to whom I spoke exceeding plain in the evening on I Cor. XIII; 3, and in the morning on Isaiah IX; 1-3.(1)

(The manuscript Journal from April 10th-May 24th was lost, and has never been traced; but it is now possible to follow Wesley's movements by means of the Diary, and also by several contemporary references. See vol. VIII, p. 59.)

Twenty-second Journey. May, 1790.

Tues. 11th. Prayed, writ narrative; 7 tea, conversed, prayer, chaise; 12 Belford, within, dinner; 1.30 chaise; 4.30 Ber(wic)k; 5 tea, conversed, prayer; 9.30

Wed. 12th. Prayed, letters; 5 chaise; 7 tea, conversed, chaise; 10.30 at brother Affleck, writ Con(ference); 1.30 dinner; 2.30 writ; 3 chaise; 3.30 read; 4 tea, conversed, prayer; 9.30

Thurs. 13th. 4 Prayed, read Travels; 7 chaise; 8 tea, conversed, prayed; 10 chaise, Tran(en)t; 12 chaise; 2 Edinb(urgh), dinner, prayed, letter; 4.15 prayed; 5 tea, conversed; 6.30 Eph. II 8! 8 Coat(e)s, conversed, supper, prayer; 9.30

Fri. 14th. 4 Prayed, letters; 8 tea, conversed, prayer; 9 Conf(erence); 1 Coat(e)s, dinner, conversed; 2 Conf(erence); 4 letters, tea, conversed; 5.30 prayed; 6.30 II Cor. IV. 7.(), supper, conversed; prayer; 9.30.

Sat. 15th. 4.30 Letter; 8 tea, conversed, prayer, chaise; 9 Conf(erence); 12 walk; 1 at Mrs. Caithness, dinner, conversed; 2.30 Conf(erence); 3 prayed, letters; 5 tea, within, prayed; 6.30 Col. III; 1,2,3! 8 supper, conversed, prayer, on business; 9.30

Sun. 16th. 4.15 Prayed, Mag.; 8 tea, conversed, prayer, chaise, Mag.; II Heb. II; 15, dinner, conversed; 2.30 sleep, Mag., prayed; 5 tea, conversed, prayed; 6 Rev. XX; 12,8, supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30

(1) Journal vol. VII, pp. 387-391.

Mon. 17th. 4.30 Prayed, chaise; 6 Q(ueen's) Ferry; 8 chaise; 10.45 K(i)nros(s); 11.30 chaise; 3.15 Melville House, dinner, within, tea, conversed, prayed, I Pet. I, 24, within; 8.30 supper, within; 10.45

Tues. 18th. 4 Prayed; 5 chaise; 6.30 Dundee Fer(ry), letters, sermon; 12 boat; 1 Dundee; 1.45 dinner, conversed, prayer, texts; 4 prayed, at brother San(der)son's, tea, conversed, prayed; 6 Heb. II, 15; 7 society, supper, within, prayer; 9.30

Wed. 19th. 4 Prayed; 5 boat, sermon; 8 at Mr. Sic(--)ght's, tea, conversed, prayer, writ narrative; 9 chaise, read V(--)illa Travels, (cipher) ; 12 Arbro(a)th, writ sermon; 1 dinner, conversed, prayer; 3.30 chaise; 6 the Ferry; 6.30 Montrose, tea; 8 chaise; 4.30 Aberdeen, tea, conversed; 6.30 Psa. XXXIII, 1, supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30

Thurs. 20th. 3 Tea, conversed, prayer; 3.30 chaise; 6 the Ferry; 6.30 Montrose, tea; 8 chaise, Travels; 10.30 Bervie; 11.30 chaise; 12.45 Stonehaven, dinner; 1.30 chaise; 4.30 Aberdeen, tea, conversed; 6.30 Psa. XXXIII, 1, supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30

Fri. 21st. 4 Prayed, sermon; 8 letters; 1 dinner, conversed, prayer; 2.30 sleep, letters; 4 tea, conversed, prayed, writ narrative; 6.30 II Cor. V, 19, etc., writ narrative; 8 supper, within, prayer; 9.30

Sat. 22nd. 4 Prayed, letters; 8 tea, within, walk; 11.15 visited, writ narrative; 1 at brother Smi(th's), dinner, within; 2.30 sleep, Journal, tea, within; 6.30 Mark III, 35, conversed, supper, on business; 9 prayer; 9.30

May 24th, Mon. We set out at four, and reached Forglen about noon. The face of the country is much changed for the better since I was here before. Agriculture increases on every side; so do manufactories, industry, and cleanliness.

But I found poor Lady B(anff) (one of the most amiable women in the kingdom) exceeding ill; and I doubt whether she will be much better till she removes to her own country. I spent a very agreeable afternoon with the lovely family, and preached to a serious congregation in the evening.

Tues. 25th. We returned to Aberdeen, and I took a solemn farewell of a crowded audience. If I should be permitted to see them again, well; if not, I have delivered my own soul.

Wed. 26th. Taking the midland road, we spent an hour at Laurencekirk, which, from an inconsiderable village, is, by the care and power of Lord Gardenstone, soon sprung up into a

pleasant, neat flourishing town. His lordship has also erected a little library here, adjoining to a handsome and well-furnished inn. The country from hence to Brechin is as pleasant as a garden. Happy would Scotland be, if it had many such gentlemen and noblemen. In the evening I began preaching at Brechin in the Freeman's Lodge; but I was so faint and ill that I was obliged to shorten my discourse.

Thurs. 27th. We went on through Forfar (now a handsome and almost new town) and Cupar to Auchterarder. Here we expected poor accomodations, but were agreeably disappointed. Food, beds, and everything else were as neat and clean as at Aberdeen or Edinburgh.

Fri. 28th. We travelled through a delightful country, by Stirling and Kilsyth, to Glasgow. The congregation was miserably small; verifying what I had often heard before, that the Scots dearly love the word of the Lord--on the Lord's day. If I live to come again, I will take care to spend only the Lord's day at Glasgow.

Mon. 31st. We set out at two, and came to Moffat soon after three in the afternoon. Taking fresh horses, we reached Dumfries between six and seven, and found the congregation waiting. So, after a few minutes, I preached on Mark III, 35: "Whosoever shall do the will of God, the same is My brother, and sister, and mother."

June 1st, Tues. Mr. Mather had a good congregation at five. In the day I conversed with many many of the people; a candid, humane, well-behaved people, unlike most that I have found in Scotland. In the evening the house was filled; and truly God preached to their hearts. Surely God will have a considerable people here. (1)

(1) Journal vol. VIII, pp. 64-68.

APPENDIX B

WESLEYAN MINISTERS BORN IN SCOTLAND

This list is by no means a complete record of all those ministers of the Wesleyan Church who were born in Scotland. It has been compiled largely from Conference Minutes Necrology, and does not include those ministers now living who are Scottish born. Dr. John S. Simon, Methodism's notable historian was born in Scotland and had a Scottish mother. There are no doubt many others. However, since it was not possible to secure complete information elsewhere, we had, perforce, to rely chiefly upon the obituaries published yearly in the Minutes. The fact that the Minutes from 1749 to 1765 are missing leaves an hiatus in the records, and doubtless these Minutes contained the names of some Scottish-born Wesleyan ministers.

There are, no doubt, some on this list who are thoroughly English despite their Scottish birth. This may be inferred from the surname, or the fact that they were sons of Wesleyan ministers stationed in Scotland. The accident of birth gives them a place on a list to which their blood and traditions do not accredit them. On the other hand, there are no doubt many English-born Scots who have entered the Wesleyan ministry, for Scottish names are not uncommon on the list of ministers serving in the Wesleyan Church. A greater Scottish contribution to Methodism may be found if one crosses to Ireland where many men of Scottish descent entered the ministry of the Wesleyan Church in that country.(1) These facts have been recognized, but it was felt that for the purposes of this particular list, the simple rule of Scottish birth should be followed, regardless of name or antecedents, lest in seeking to properly place an individual the writer become hopelessly involved in genealogical tangles and intricacies. Wherever possible footnotes have been inserted to clarify doubtful cases.

The question may be asked as to the value of such a list. In justification, let us say that every cranny has been searched for material that would throw light on Scottish Methodism. Much helpful material was located in the obituaries of those men who served in the difficult Scottish field. Many of them were of Scottish birth, as the M'Allums, and the M'Owans. It seemed fitting to append a brief notice of the lives of those who made a contribution in Scotland, and it naturally led to the compilation of the fuller list, including those who gave little, if any time, in Scotland.

(1) It is interesting to note in this respect that Adam Clarke was of Scottish descent. His maternal great, great grandfather was a Presbyterian clergyman, and the first who preached as Protestant in Maghera after the Revolution of 1688. He married a Scottish lady, Catherine Strawbridge. Adam's mother was a descendant of Mac Lean of Dowart (Duart). Clarke's Autobiography. pp. 43-45.

It should also serve to show something of the contribution Scotland has made to the Wesleyan ministry. This will help to refute the notion, held in some quarters, that Scotland has given practically nothing to the ministry of the Wesleyan Church.

AIKENHEAD, John

Born in Arbroath 1768. Died March 12, 1835.

Minutes 1768, p.471.

BALLINGALL, Thomas

Born in Edinburgh 1786. He was converted at the age of nineteen and entered the ministry in 1812. He died March 10, 1868.

Minutes 1868, p.250.

BARCLAY, Alexander F.

Born in Glasgow October 13, 1843, of godly Methodist parentage. He was converted at the age of 14. Went to West Indies where he began to preach and later entered the regular ministry as a missionary to India. Died April, 1905.

Minutes 1905, pp.153,154.

BARR, Ninian

Born in Glasgow of Presbyterian parentage. His people were members of the Established Church of Scotland. He was converted at sixteen in the Wesleyan Church and under the guidance of the Rev. Valentine Ward entered the ministry. In 1816 appointed to Newfoundland. Died at Arbroath December, 1865.(1)

Minutes 1866, p.441.

BATCHELOR, Peter

Born in Dundee in 1809. His parents were members of the Scotch Church. He was converted by Rev. Peter M'Owan. Entered the ministry in 1837. Died October, 1881.

Minutes 1882, pp.14,15.

BAXTER, Andrew

Born in Wallacestone July 31, 1842. Entered ministry 1868, travelling chiefly in laborious country circuits. Died Shrewsbury October 29, 1907.

Minutes 1908, p.138.

BELL, John

Born at Glasgow February 17, 1845. 1865 accepted as a candidate for the ministry. Died April 12, 1915.

Minutes 1915, p.150.

(1) The data in the obituaries is incomplete. The exact date of birth is not always given, no doubt, it was not known in many cases. Facts as to the actual ministry are scant as more attention is paid in such notices to the virtues and qualifications of the minister.

BORROWMAN, Alexander

Born at Banff June 22, 1849 of Methodist parentage. Accepted by Conference in 1873. Died February 4, 1917.
Minutes 1917, p.137.

BRASH, J. Denholm

Born in Edinburgh in 1841. He was trained under Presbyterian influences, as he always gratefully remembered. Volunteered for Shetland Isles. Died June 7, 1912.
Minutes 1912, p.153.

BRIDIE, William

Born in Dundee December 3, 1855 of Methodist parentage. He studied at the University of Glasgow and became a candidate for the ministry in 1879. 1882 went as a missionary to China. Died October 9, 1911.
Minutes 1912, pp.133,134.

CAMERON, James

Born in Kirkintilloch August 1, 1805. Converted by Wesleyans in 1820. 1829 went to South Africa as missionary. Died in 1876.
Minutes 1876, p.36.

CHALMERS, James, M. A.

Born in Peterhead January 25, 1825, of Presbyterian parentage. United with Wesleyan Church under ministry of Dr. George Scott in 1845. He was a student at that time in King's College, Aberdeen, receiving his degree in 1848. Died October 10, 1890.
Minutes 1891, p.24.

CLEGG, William

Born in Perth 1814. He was the son of a Wesleyan minister. Died December 9, 1853.(1)

COATS, Alexander

He was a native of Scotland and began labour for Wesley in 1744. He died at Newcastle-upon-Tyne October 14, 1765, and at the time of his death was the oldest itinerant in the connection. Wesley held him in high esteem and called him "Honest Sandy". He had considerable ministerial abilities and was very popular. He did not grasp all of Wesley's doctrines and was in some doubts as to the doctrine of Christian perfection. He had some correspondence with Wesley on this subject in which the latter spoke with some sharpness. Myles places him in the list of first generation ministers in his published List tho' in a similar list in the History proper he omits his name.

Wesley's Journal vol. v, p.149.

Myles' Chron. Hist. of Methodists, p.91.

Myles' List of Methodist Preachers, p.5.

Tyerman's John Wesley vol.II, pp.413,414.

(1) It would seem likely that in this case the subject is English, both from the name, and the fact that his father was a Wesleyan minister stationed in Perth.

COBBAN, G. MacKenzie

Born in Fyvie, Aberdeenshire, December 31, 1846. His parents wanted him to enter the ministry of the Presbyterian Church. He went into business going to Manchester in 1866. He was converted in a Methodist Chapel and became a candidate for the ministry. In 1876 he went to India as a Missionary, returning to England in 1892. He died April 16, 1905.

Minutes 1905, pp.155,156.

COGHILL, Donald, M. R.

He was born in 1809 in Glasgow. He attended the University of Glasgow and in 1834 entered the ministry of the Methodist church. He died April 9, 1842.

Minutes 1842, pp.307,308.

CONNON, John

Born in Aberdeen October 15, 1812. He was a third generation Methodist, his grandparents having been members of the society in Wesley's day. He entered the ministry in 1835. Died March 2, 1900.

Minutes 1900, pp.29,30.

DARNEY, William

Born early in the eighteenth century in Scotland. It is thought Darney may have been converted in the Scotch Revival (1733-1740) under the preaching of Rev. James Robe of Kilsyth. He was a man of huge proportions and spoke in broadest Scotch dialect. In 1742 he appeared in England as an itinerant preacher and organized a number of societies similar to those formed by Wesley. He supported himself as a peddler and clogger. He was instrumental in converting the rector at Haworth, William Grimshaw who became a warm friend of Wesley. Darney joined Wesley as an itinerant but his Scottish Calvinistic background was strong and he rejected Wesley's doctrine of sanctification. He clung tenaciously to his favourite doctrine of the final and unconditional perseverance of the saints. His name appears in Myles Lists as a first generation minister. He died in 1769.

Jackson Early Methodist Preachers vol.V,
p.43.

Wesley's Journal vol. III, pp.293,294.

Myles Chron. Hist. of Methodists, p.205

Myles List of Methodist Preachers p.5

DAVIDSON, Robert, M. A.

Born at Port Elphinstone, Aberdeen, January 21, 1833. Came of a distinguished Methodist family; his father was an associate of John Wesley. He enrolled at Aberdeen Grammar School, and later at the University of Aberdeen, taking his M. A. in 1851. He entered the ministry in 1856. Died May 16, 1913.

Minutes 1913, p.140.

DRUMMOND, James

Born at Polmont, Grangemouth, Stirlingshire, October 10, 1842. He came under Methodist influences through the evangelism of the Rev. James Cuthbertson, and entered the ministry in 1867. Died August 4, 1924.

Minutes 1925, p.97.

DUNCAN, John Tait

Born at Noness, Shetland in 1822. He spent early years in Aberdeen. Entered Methodist ministry where he served faithfully. Died October 20, 1896.

Minutes 1897, pp.20,21.

DUTHIE, James

Born at Banff 1850. Parents were members of the Established Church of Scotland. He joined Wesleyan Church and entered the ministry in 1871. Died March 7, 1912.

Minutes 1912, pp.146,147.

FARQUHAR, Daniel

He was a native of Wick and was converted under the ministry of the Rev. T. Collins. Entered the ministry of Wesleyan church. He died November, 1859, aged 39.

Minutes 1860, p.385.

FERGUS, G. Fyffe

Born at Kilsyth June 17, 1849. He was converted at a revival in his native town at the age of seventeen. He laboured with a U. P. Mission in Glasgow but in 1880 he entered the ministry of the Wesleyan Church. He died June 9, 1894.

Minutes 1894, p.34.

FINDLAY, James

Born in Cullen, Banffshire Christmas day 1815. His parents were among the first Methodists in the district and suffered much persecution in their early days. He entered the ministry serving for 37 years. He died March 28, 1877.

Minutes 1877, p.33.

FITZGERALD, Thomas Moffat

Born in Musselburgh, Scotland, 1811. Converted at 18. In 1834 he entered the Methodist ministry. Died February 14, 1870.

GOUDIE, William

Born May 6, 1857 in a godly home at Channerwick in the Shetland Isles. He was converted at 17 years of age. In 1882 he began work as a missionary in India. In 1921 he was designated for appointment as President of the Conference in 1922. He died Palm Sunday, April 9, 1922 after 41 years of ministry.

Minutes 1922, p.119.

HARGREAVES, James E.(1)

Born in Huntley, Aberdeenshire in 1842. His early life was spent in Hull. In 1859 he was converted and in 1864 he entered the ministry. He died September 11, 1906.

Minutes 1907, pp.124,125.

(1) This name does not appear to be typically Scottish. It is more likely to be English and the fact that the early life of the subject was spent in England would bear out this supposition.

HAY, John

Born in Edinburgh in 1817. His father was an honoured elder of the U. P. Church and well known in the civic life of the city. He was educated at the Royal High School in his native city. He went to Ireland and for the first time entered a Methodist Chapel. He was converted and in 1840 entered the ministry in the Irish Conference. He later transferred to the British Conference. He died March 17, 1894.

Minutes 1894, pp26,27.

HENDERSON, William

Born in Kilsyth, May 15, 1851. His parents were devout members of the Established Church of Scotland. While he was studying medicine in the University of Glasgow he was induced by a friend to attend mission services in the Wesleyan Chapel at Kilsyth. He was converted and joined the Wesleyan Church. Served 46 years in active service. Died January 31, 1922.

Minutes 1922, p.116.

HOLFORD, Arthur B.(1)

Born in Bladnoch, Ayrshire in 1836. When he was nine his family moved to Leeds. His parents were earnest Methodists. He entered the ministry in 1857. He died October 25, 1923.

Minutes 1924, p.122.

HUME, Alexander

Born in Caithness 1793. His parents were members of the Church of Scotland. He was converted to Methodism. Entered the ministry and in 1817 he was appointed to the Aberdeen Circuit. Later served as a missionary in Ceylon. Died June 5, 1876.

Minutes 1876, p.27.

HUTCHEON, John

Converted at age of 20 and after a distinguished career at Aberdeen University (M. A.) entered Wesleyan ministry. 1856 went to India where he served eighteen years. Served in Australia and England also. September 5, 1902, he died aged 76.

Minutes 1903, p.129.

JAMIESON, Thomas W.

Born at Channerwick, Shetland, April 3, 1870. Entered ministry 1896. Died July 21, 1914.

Minutes 1915, p.128.

JOHNSON, James

Born Scalloway, Zetland, March 21, 1839. Entered ministry 1861. Died April 1877.

Minutes 1877, p.35.

KAY, Duncan

A native of Scotland. Entered ministry 1786; died 1816.

Minutes 1816, p.195

Myles List p.13.

(1) The preceding note would apply to this individual also.

KERR, David

Born in Edinburgh 1793. He was converted by Wesleyans and became a missionary to Jamaica. He died June, 1854.

Minutes 1854, p.387.

KESSER, Andrew, LL. D.

Born at Glasgow 1814, the son of a minister of the Established Church of Scotland. He was educated at the University of Glasgow where he took a degree. Heard a sermon in Methodist chapel and joined that group offering himself as a missionary. Served as a teacher in Ceylon. Died July 19, 1879.

Minutes 1879, p.40.

LEE, John

Born at Mickle-Kenday, Aberdeenshire, 1779. Joined Methodist Society in 1794. He began preaching in 1803. Died October 16, 1834.

Minutes 1835, p.468.

LEITH, Duncan, G. M., M. A.

He was born at Dundee November 9, 1878. He graduated at Edinburgh University and after two years at Headingley College he went to India in 1901. He was drowned December 27, 1924.

Minutes 1925, p.123.

LETTERS, George Gilfillan

Born at Glasgow July 2, 1839. Converted when he was eighteen, he entered the ministry and in 1866 was appointed to his first charge. Died December 28, 1868.

Minutes 1869, p.485.

M'ALLUM, Daniel, M. D.

He was born in Inverness June 22, 1794, the son of Duncan M'Allum the famous Scottish Wesleyan minister. He was educated in Scotland and England and was trained for the medical profession. He received his M. D. degree from the University of Glasgow. He entered the ministry in 1817 and was appointed with his father to Dunbar and Haddington. He was unusually successful being in favour with members of all churches. He later served on the Edinburgh circuit. In June, 1822, he went to the Shetland Isles at the request of the Conference to look over the field and his report was instrumental in starting the great work which was done there in the years that followed. He served North Shields and York also. He died July 2, 1827.

Minutes 1827, p.221.

Wesleyan Magazine, pp.1-7, 73-76.

M'ALLUM, Duncan

One of the most illustrious of Scottish Wesleyans. He was born in 1755 and began his itinerancy in 1775. He was a close student and learned the Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and Syriac in a few years, though having little leisure. He was called to the atten-

tion of Mr. Wesley in 1775 and the latter had a most high regard for him. His work was confined largely to Scotland where he Preached in English and Gaelic and earned the respect of all classes. He had many warm admieres among the clergy of the Established Church and the University professors. In 1787 he was ordained by Wesley and was the first one of his chosen itinerants to whom he gave the designation Reverend. He wanted to go to Africa as a missionary but Wesley kept him in Scotland to "convert the heathen there" as he said. This splendid Itinerant who trod the heather for Christ, died July 21, 1834.

Minutes 1835, p.347.

Myles List, p.10.

Tyerman's John Wesley, pp. 272, 273, 565.

M'AULAY, Alexander

He was born at Glasgow in 1818. Though of Presbyterian parentage he came in touch with Methodism early, his father having been baptized by John Wesley. He was converted to Methodism in 1835 and in 1840 went to Ayr as minister. In 1876 after long service, chiefly in England, he was elected Conference President. He died Decombor 1, 1890.

Minutes 1890, p.26.

M'AULAY, Samuel

Younger brother of above. He was born in Glasgow in 1821. Entered Methodist ministry 1846. Died May 8, 1792.

Minutes 1892, p.38.

MC CARTNEY, Thomas J.

He was born of Godly parents at Girvan, Ayrshire April 24, 1841. Removed to Glasgow while quite young. He was brought up in an old-fashioned Methodist home and at nineteen joined Wesleyan church and began to labour. For a time he studied at Glasgow University. In 1867 he entered the ministry and in 1909 he retired. He died September 28, 1928.

Minutes 1929, p. 96.

L'DERMIDD, Dermid

He was a native of Scotland and served as a missionary to the West Indios. He died 1812.

Minutes 1812, p. 268.

MACDONALD, James A.

Born October 8, 1825 of an ancient Scottish family he was peculiarly attached to the traditions of Scotland and took a deep interest in her history. He was accepted for the ministry in 1847. He died September 11, 1907.

Minutes 1908, p.134.

MACDONALD, Roderick, J. J., M. D., C. M.

He was born in 1859 and was the son of the Rev. James A. MacDonald. He was educated in England and at Edinburgh University where he took his degree 1884. He went to China in 1884 as a missionary. July 13, 1906 he was killed by Chinese pirates.

Minutes 1907, pp.153, 154.

MACKINTOSH, Andrew

Born in Dundee, 1799. Entered ministry 1826, serving in Scotland. Died Aug. 1, 1882 in the 56th year of his ministry.

Minutes 1884, p.30.

MACKENZIE, Peter

He was born in Glen Shee, Scotland November 11, 1824. He moved to England in 1844. He was converted in 1849 and in 1858 entered the ministry. Died November 21, 1895.

Minutes 1896, pp.33, 34.

M'LEAN, John

Born in Glasgow in 1806. He was converted by Wesleyans and entered the ministry. He died July, 1866.

Minutes 1866, p.457.

M'NAB, Alexander

Born in Perthshire about 1745. He entered the Methodist itinerant labours in 1766 and had considerable success. When stationed in Edinburgh he won considerable fame as an eloquent preacher. He got into serious controversy with Wesley in 1779 over the matter of Wesley's appointing an Irish minister to preach in the Bath Chapel to which M'Nab had been appointed. Wesley in this matter seems to have exceeded himself, though the blame rests largely on his brother Charles who urged him to the action which caused division in the Society at Bath. This was the expulsion of M'Nab. The latter was a fiery highlander and resented the action of the Wesleys. In 1780 he was restored and Wesley showed his confidence in him in many ways. He was appointed to important circuits and did well in the work. In 1782 he retired and took up his residence in Sheffield where he was pastor of a small congregation. He died 1797.

Tyerman John Wesley vol.III, pp.303-313.

M'NICOLL, David

Born in Dundee where he first began to preach. Impressed Dr. Adam Clarke who heard him preach at Leeds when he attended Conference to be received in full connexion. He asked to have him appointed to London with him which was done. (1806) He was outstanding as a minister. He died June 4, 1835.

Minutes 1835, pp.11, 12.

Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine vol.XV, 1836, p.566.

M'OWAN, John

Born in Crieff, Scotland in 1791. He was induced to attend the ministry of Rev. Valentine Ward and was converted. He brought his brother Peter and he likewise was converted. John became a minister in 1815. He died September 3, 1876.

Minutes 1877, p.11.

M'OWAN, Peter

He was born at Crieff in 1795. Was converted as related in foregoing paragraph and entered the ministry in 1817. He was highly successful and did a great work. He died at Bristol February, 1870.

Minutes 1870, p.27.

MATHER, Alexander

This minister was undoubtedly one of the most illustrious of Scottish Methodists. He was born in Brechin February, 1733, and brought up in the fear of the Lord. He joined the army of Prince Charlie in '45 and was present at Culloden. He lived as a fugitive for some time after. In 1752 he went to London and came under the influence of the Methodists and was converted. He entered the itinerancy in 1757 and became one of Wesley's trusted labourers. He was ordained by Wesley in August, 1788, and was the first minister ordained for work in England. His ordination was, moreover, as Superintendent, or Bishop. In 1792 he was elected President of the Conference. He died in 1800.

Jackson Early Methodist Preachers, vol.II
pp.159-209.

Myles Chron. Hist. of Methodists, p.161.
Proceedings Wesley Hist. Society, vol.IX,
"Wesley's Ordinations" by Dr. John S.
Simon, pp.145-154.

MANSIE, Alexander

He was born in the north of Scotland. In his early days he was a strong Calvinist. He was converted to Wesleyanism and entered the ministry. He died March 23, 1856, aged twenty-two years.
Minutes 1856, p.330.

MEARNS, John

He was born in Peterhead in 1818. In 1839 he entered the Wesleyan ministry and was sent to Jamaica. He died May 10, 1887.
Minutes 1887, p.30.

MEARNS, William, M. A.

He was born at Fraserburgh, Scotland in 1821. He graduated from King's College, Aberdeen, with first class honours, taking the first bursary. Entered the Methodist ministry in 1826. He died January 28, 1911.

Minutes 1912, pp.126, 127.

MILLER, James

He was born in Brechin, Scotland. He was brought up under the Wesleyan ministry in that town and in 1812 he entered the ranks as an Itinerant. He died June 18, 1853, aged 61.

Minutes 1853, p.184.

MITCHELL, James, 1st

He was born in Scotland but moved to England while still young and resided near London. He entered the Wesleyan ministry in 1833. His labours were in Scotland and England. He died March 29, 1847, aged 36.

Minutes 1847, p.456.

MOWATT, George

He was born in Aberdeen; died August 15, 1825, aged 90.

Minutes 1826, p.106.

NEALE, Francis

He was born in Edinburgh, 1795, and entered the ministry in 1821. He died July 26, 1859, aged 64.

Minutes 1859.

RANKIN, Thomas

He was born in Dunbar, Scotland about 1738. He listened to Methodist ministers who came to Dunbar and after a struggle decided to join the Society. He first determined to be a minister in the Church of Scotland and talked with Parish minister and George Whitefield about it. Disappointed in not being able to attend the University at Edinburgh, he went on a mercantile trip to South Carolina. He began to itinerate in 1762 and was a companion of Wesley on many of his journeys. In 1772 he was appointed by Wesley to oversee the work in America. Other marks of confidence were shown him by the leader and he may truly be considered one of the outstanding ministers. He died May 17, 1810.

Jackson Early Methodist Preachers, vol.V, pp.136-217.

REID, George

He was born at Banff in 1836 and educated at Banff Academy and Glasgow University. In 1865 he entered the Wesleyan ministry. He died June 18, 1920.

Minutes 1920, p.127.

RITCHIE, Charles B.

He was born at Musselburgh, Scotland, 1814. Died 1870, aged 56 years.

Minutes 1870, p.24.

SCOTT, George, D. D.

He was born in Edinburgh June 18, 1804. Entered Methodist ministry in 1830. Served with great success as a missionary in Sweden. Died at Glasgow January 28, 1874.

Minutes 1874, p.16.

SCOTT, George(1)

He was born in Sweden in 1839, the son of Rev. George Scott noted above. He entered the ministry and went into missionary work but his health failed. He died February 10, 1875.

Minutes 1875, p.36.

SCOTT, Dr. George

He was born in Scotland. 1845, while student at King's College, Aberdeen, he was converted. He took his degree at the University, 1848. Died October 10, 1890.

Minutes 1891, p.30.

(1) In this case while the subject was born in Sweden, it is clear that Scotland may claim him through his parents who were temporarily residing in Sweden.

SIMPSON, Robert

He was born at Edinburgh May 10, 1849. He was brought up in early life as a Presbyterian. He went to London where he joined Wesleyan Church, and later entered Richmond College. Died November, 1900.

Minutes 1901, p.134.

STEVENS, Richard

He was born in Glasgow in 1842. He was converted under Methodist preaching and became a member of the John Street Methodist Church in his native city. He entered the ministry in 1865. He died March 3, 1899.

Minutes 1899, p.33.

STEWART, David

He was born in Glasgow in 1836. At sixteen he was converted and later entered the ministry of the Methodist Church. He died September 22, 1888.

Minutes 1889, p.15.

STRACHAN, Alexander

He was born in Perth, December, 1793. Converted under the ministry of Valentine Ward in Glasgow. 1815 entered the ministry. Died, 1865.

Minutes 1866, p.437.

SWAN, Robert

He was a native of Scotland. 1770 he began his labours as an Itinerant. He laboured for 26 years. Died 1811.

Minutes 1811, p.194.

Myles List, p.10.

TODD, James

Born at Edinburgh, March 31, 1855. At seventeen he began to preach, labouring as a Presbyterian Home Missionary. In 1876 he was accepted as a candidate for the Methodist ministry and was appointed to Glasgow. Died May 15, 1919.

Minutes 1919, p.111.

TOTHERICK, Robert(1)

He was born at Berwick-upon-Tweed March 9, 1799. His parents who were members of the Scotch Church brought him up in its teachings. Converted by Methodists he entered the ministry. Died December 12, 1866.

Minutes 1867, p.12.

(1) Berwick-upon-Tweed belongs to England, technically, but it has been so often the bone of contention between the two countries, and has changed flags so frequently in the old days, that it has taken on a neutral cast as regards the nationality of its citizenry. Thus it seemed proper to claim the above subject as Scottish in view of his relation to the Scottish Church.

WALSH, Thomas Inglis

He was born in Edinburgh, 1840. Laboured in Methodist ministry from 1861; fourteen years being spent in Scotland. Died June 13, 1889.

Minutes 1889, p.33.

WATSON, William(1)

Born in 1838. His parents were Presbyterians. In 1861 he entered the Methodist ministry and was sent to West Indies. He later returned and was serving the Dumbarton Circuit at the time of his death. He was highly esteemed and for the first three months of his illness the ministers of the Presbyterian Churches voluntarily supplied his pulpit in turn. He died March 25, 1885.

Minutes 1885, p.29.

WEST, Thomas

Born in Glasgow January 10, 1824, in a Methodist home. Entered ministry and was sent as a missionary to Tonga Islands. Died August 29, 1890.

Minutes 1891, p.15.

WILSON, William

Born in Kirkcudbrightshire November 21, 1828. His parents were members of the Church of Scotland. His upbringing was a godly one. At eighteen he moved to Liverpool and was there converted at Wesleyan Chapel. 1850 he entered the ministry and was sent as a missionary to Fiji. Died June 1, 1896.

Minutes 1896, p.33.

WRIGHT, Duncan

Born in Fortingale, Perthshire, May, 1736. He claimed kindred to the Stuarts, MacDonald, and MacGregor families. 1754 joined the army where he came in touch with Methodist soldiers and was converted. 1764 he left army and began preaching in England and Scotland. He was much impressed with the need of the Highlanders and at Wesley's request recovered his knowledge of Erse (gaelic) and did a good work with them. He was a close friend of Wesley and his companion on many of the latter's journeys. The Journal has many references to this fine spirited highlander. He died May 13, 1791, aged 55, shortly after the death of Wesley and his remains were interred in Mr. Wesley's vault behind the chapel in City-road.

Jackson Lives of Early Methodist Preachers,
vol. II, pp.107ff.

(1) There is no statement as to the birthplace of this subject. However, his parents were Presbyterians and there is a strong presumption in favour of his Scottish birth. The attitude of the Presbyterian ministers in Dumbarton during his last illness would bear this out, for the Scots are a clannish folk and believe that "Blood is thicker than water".

APPENDIX C
WESLEYAN CHURCH MEMBERSHIP
IN SCOTLAND, 1766-1929

The following tables list the membership of the Scottish Circuits from 1766 to 1929 inclusive. The Minutes of 1749 list two Circuits in Scotland, namely Edinburgh and Aberdeen. There are no returns available between 1749 and 1766 due to the fact that the Minutes for that period are missing. These figures do not include Junior Class members or Trial members.

The data for Dumfries is to be found in the Minutes under the Carlisle District, as the Wesleyan work in Dumfries has been attached to Carlisle during most of its history.

It will be noted, as the footnotes frequently indicate, that the returns from one Circuit may include the membership of a number of Societies, as Dunbar, Haddington, Dalkeith, etc., are to be found in many years listed with the Edinburgh figures.

	1766	1767	1768	1769	1770	1771	1772	1773
Dunbar	---	40	40	36	30	---	---	---
Edinburgh	165	150	146	130	62	137	245	260
Dundee, etc.	321	40	46	28	)	)	)	169
Aberdeen	---	174	150	150	)413	)668	)458	)470
Perth	---	---	24	25))))
Arbroath	---	---	---	73))))
Glasgow	---	64	76	85	76	87	---	---
Total	486	468	482	527	581	892	703	730

	1774	1775	1776	1777	1778	1779	1780	1781
Edinburgh	287	260	250	---	161	193	208	191
Inverness	---	---	---	---	---	42))
Aberdeen	)448	)240	151	---	311	276	)220	)198
Dundee	)	169	169	---	142	121	127	112
Perth)	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Arbroath)	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Scotland	---	---	---	673	---	---	---	---
Total	735	669	570	673	614	632	555	501

	1782	1783	1784	1785	1786	1787	1788	1789
Edinburgh (1)	187	173	126	134	219	261	330	348
Dundee	62	103	104	110	134	125	129	137
Aberdeen	210	247	251	290	324	243	249	261
Ayr	---	---	---	---	---	55	45	---
Inverness	---	---	---	---	---	144	165	220
Total	459	523	481	534	677	828	918	966

	1790	1791	1792	1793	1794	1795	1796	1797
Edinburgh	204	205	209	187	200	180	180	200
Glasgow	300	218	209	160	138	151	)189	)214
Ayr	---	---	---	31	19	32))
Dundee	132	157	170	200	150	105	109	121
Aberdeen	260	286	295	300	280	290	265	247
Inverness	190	222	323	321	282	104	) 70	273
Banff	---	---	---	---	---	170)	---
Dumfries	---	44	49	48	40	36	37	34
Kelso (2)	---	31	29	32	70	62	---	60
Brechin	---	---	---	---	---	68	68	70
Campbelltown	---	16	---	---	---	---	---	---
Total	1086	1179	1284	1279	1179	1198	918	1219

(1) Dalkeith included 1788, 1789.

(2) Included with Berwick, England, 1794, 1795, 1797.

	1798	1799	1800	1801	1802	1803	1804	1805
Edinburgh	190	210	207	217	230	230	235	260
Glasgow	)183	187	140	141	150	)240	)268	)373
Ayr	)	30	40	41	40)))
Dumfries	23	26	---	---	32	25	30	27
Dundee	115	116	113	119	127	120	127	130
Aberdeen	203	228	245	230	232	290	276	276
Inverness	267	250	223	236	200	200	201	181
Brechin	78	70	73	75	81	74	72	76
Total	1059	1117	1041	1059	1092	1179	1209	1323

	1806	1807	1808	1809	1810	1811	1812	1813
Dumfries	50	54	44	40	43	50	49	59
Edinburgh (1)	265	284	263	200	193	253	370	370
Glasgow and Ayr	460	494	513	600	---	---	---	---
Glasgow and Paisley	---	---	---	---	650	770	800	893
Ayr and Vicinity (2)	---	---	---	---	85	105	140	140
Perth	---	---	---	---	30	38	52	113
Aberdeen	281	305	301	271	259	262	263	310
Dundee	130	120	126	125	102	66	60	68
Brechin	103	104	103	99	70	80	100	122
Banff	---	---	---	---	91	85	---	89
Inverness	136	163	172	159	26	28	30	27
Arbroath	---	---	---	---	---	50	100	105
Greenock	---	---	---	---	---	---	32	46
Total	1425	1524	1522	1494	1549	1787	2087	2342

(1) Dalkeith figures sometimes appear with Edinburgh and sometimes with Dunbar.

(2) Includes Kilmarnock.

	1814	1815	1816	1817	1818	1819	1820	1821
Dumfries	54	56	57	45	49	60	50	50
Edinburgh (1)	311	314	500	618	676	655	634	631
Dunbar	65	55	100	52	55	55	60	58
Glasgow	)969	)1111	)1211	1255	)1539	)1620	1162	1020
Paisley	)	)	)	178))	---	---
Greenock (2)	54	70	100	120	165	150	122	160
Ayr and Kilmarnock	190	200	230	200	200	240	240	225
Perth (3)	119	104	124	126	126	116	100	100
Dunfermline	---	50	106	80	60	30	---	---
Aberdeen	340	338	225	270	302	370	346	395
Peterhead	---	---	30	---	28	50	100	116
Dundee	70	70	66	76	130	132	132	135
Arbroath (4)	100	75	74	50	50	)182	)157	)150
Brechin	---	---	130	126	126)))
Banff	140	136	136	132	132	117	82	88
Elgin	---	40	36	31	32	34	62	62
Inverness	27	30	31	33	35	35	30	32
Total	2567	2779	3156	3392	3705	3846	3277	3222

(1) Includes Leith.

(2) Includes Port Glasgow.

(3) Includes Crieff

(4) Montrose included with Arbroath some years.

	1822	1823	1824	1825	1826	1827	1828	1829
Dumfries	100	120	125	121	125	105	108	100
Edinburgh	586	575	581	490	480	550	540	612
Dunbar	34	39	60	62)))	---
Haddington	---	---	---	---	) 60	) 60	) 36	---
Glasgow	1010	1010	950	890	890	844	830	787
Paisley	130	200	240	275))))
Greenock	110	90	60	76	) 331	) 333	) 270	) 273
Port Glasgow	---	---	---	---))))
Ayr	180	227	277	243	218	200	208	178
Perth	100	115	115	115	86	---	---	---
Aberdeen	391	410	376	344	303	300	319	321
Peterhead	102	99	77	66	36	36	32	---
Dundee	145	167	180	160	125	219	236	215
Arbroath, Montrose, and Brechin	150	154	160	132	114	117	109	85
Banff	100	100	) 130	) 130	) 111	) 120	) 100	) 92
Elgin (1)	57	55))))))
Inverness	30	29	28	28	29	29	33	46
Total	3225	3430	3594	3132	2908	2913	2821	2709

Shetland Isles

Lerwick	---	---	---	256	310	355	420	489
Walls and Sandness	---	---	---	206	255	340	455	415
Northmavin	---	---	---	50	60	75	115	148
Yell, Unst, and Fetlar	---	---	---	---	20	70	250	307
Total	---	---	---	512	645	840	1240	1359

(1) Keith included in 1822, 1823.

	1830	1831	1832	1833	1834	1835	1836	1837
Dumfries	99	80	55	60	76	86	80	45
Edinburgh	571	529	575	588	596	597	527	509
Dunbar	---	22	21	22	20	20	41	37
Glasgow	820	828	852	993	1152	1122	1140	1100
Paisley))))	---	---	---	---
Greenock	)203	)181	)156	)147	---	---	---	---
Port Glasgow))))	---	---	---	---
Ayr	170	200	197	259	276	328	313	262
Perth	---	101	149	127	120	103	64	57
Aberdeen	348	320	363	408	442	460	420	384
Dundee	226	130	137	190	168	181	32	64
Arbroath, Montrose, and Brechin	85	83	79	80	83	90	102	123
Banff-Elgin	100	93	91	---	---	---	---	---
Banff-Buckey	---	---	---	81	68	60	62	50
Inverness	50	40	54	52	46	48	50	33
Total	2672	2607	2729	2907	3047	3095	2831	2664

Shetland Islands	1830	1831	1832	1833	1834	1835	1836	1837
Lerwick	500	530	574	596	600	573	485	404
Walls, Sandness	380	370	376	376	311	326	317	317
Northmavin	150	155	155	150	150	143	143	141
Yell, Unst, and Fetlar	300	380	308	305	309	259	265	234
Orkney, Wick	---	---	---	---	---	---	146	166
Total	1330	1436	1413	1427	1370	1301	2831	2664

	1838	1839	1840	1841	1842	1843	1844	1845
Dumfries	45	46	60	66	53	56	58	49
Edinburgh	490	419	436	402	420	424	430	445
Dunbar	38	37	42	49	43	41	34	23
Glasgow	1137	1144	1224	1382	1415	1512	1414	1490
Ayr	239	188	187	180	186	159	160	164
Aberdeen	355	359	323	292	305	301	315	341
Dundee	80	100	105	108	110	103	120	120
Perth	50	64	71	80	63	68	70	70
Arbroath	)123	)123	)127	)126	)115	)117	)122	)120
Montrose))))))))
Banff-Buckey	38	50	63	66	64	74	78	85
Inverness	47	51	46	45	38	45	60	82
Greenock	---	---	---	---	---	---	84	84

Total	2642	2581	2684	2796	2812	2900	2945	3073
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Shetland Islands	1838	1839	1840	1841	1842	1843	1844	1845
Lerwick	300	345	380	420	450	500	543	569
Walls	210	200	230	260	289	300	550	550
Yell, Unst, and Fetlar	110	134	139	145	150	150	144	134
Northmavin	100	106	150	190	220	221	216	208
Orkney, Wick	191	146	117	78	---	---	---	---

Total	911	931	1016	1093	1109	1171	1453	1461
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	1846	1847	1848	1849	1850	1851	1852	1853
Dumfries	50	53	57	58	58	60	50	52
Edinburgh	450	444	473	559	570	505	420	365
Dunbar	36	60	52	62	56	40	41	34
Glasgow	873	817	863	897	889	709	---	---
Ayr	150	136	123	126	127	130	112	82
Greenock	86	73	77	80	83	97	82	71
Airdrie-Stirling	588	560	603	512	419	343	323	327
Aberdeen	376	377	370	375	342	294	269	300
Dundee	109	106	97	103	102	123	138	110
Perth	69	67	62	80	83	70	62	69
Arbroath	113	103	93	90	101	95	97	80
Banff	82	74	65	47	49	54	62	61
Inverness	60	56	49	52	55	45	42	48
Stirling	---	---	---	---	---	33	28	34
Glasgow West	---	---	---	---	---	---	494	456
Glasgow East	---	---	---	---	---	---	182	181
Total	3042	2926	2984	3041	2934	2598	2402	2270
Shetland Islands	1846	1847	1848	1849	1850	1851	1852	1853
Lerwick	552	542	509	569	556	568	532	563
Walls	554	480	443	445	405	420	430	432
Northmavin	192	167	165	166	109	128	170	174
North Isles	---	135	132	156	153	149	151	172
Yell	133	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Total	1431	1324	1249	1336	1223	1265	1283	1341

	1854	1855	1856	1857	1858	1859	1860	1861
Dumfries	54	54	51	70	68	71	81	77
Edinburgh	370	356	332	340	353	359	375	400
Dunbar	30	25	25	53	34	31	36	47
Ayr	83	82	61	58	50	55	67	87
Greenock	72	85	84	84	86	84	85	88
Airdrie	319	303	200	282	296	310	352	421
Stirling-Doune	---	---	36	40	37	57	66	61
Aberdeen	333	315	284	286	236	248	250	264
Dumbarton	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	50
Dundee	112	90	101	120	125	126	134	151
Perth	65	61	64	64	68	60	60	70
Arbroath, Montrose	80	83	80	72	85	90	85	88
Banff	56	56	50	51	54	54	58	66
Inverness	30	30	51	47	42	38	42	46
Stirling	30	30	---	---	---	---	---	---
Glasgow West	460	464	478	538	515	533	668	690
Glasgow East	195	195	217	265	286	312	316	306
Total	2305	2239	2194	2370	2335	2428	2675	2912

	1854	1855	1856	1857	1858	1859	1860	1861
Shetland Islands								
Lerwick	601	606	311	322	318	328	354	431
Walls	433	428	333	330	341	402	470	486
Northmavin	169	173	176	170	185	185	188	179
North Isles	177	187	183	176	175	157	163	175
Dunrossness	---	---	355	356	369	373	362	363
Total	1380	1394	1358	1354	1388	1445	1537	1634

	1862	1863	1864	1865	1866	1867	1868	1869
Dumfries	68	75	65	55	46	48	50	36
Edinburgh	390	391	416	378	418	457	473	479
Leith	---	---	---	79	75	60	70	85
Dunbar	49	40	37	38	42	40	33	36
Greenock	102	105	113	133	120	123	135	126
Glasgow								
John Street	614	418	453	493	554	634	736	598
St. Thomas	282	287	302	309	260	268	252	260
Cathcart Road	---	187	176	192	192	244	266	280
Claremont	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	210
Airdrie	422	458	398	417	382	454	413	437
Stirling	35	34	34	34	38	50	55	52
Dumbarton	70	70	75	92	88	78	90	94
Ayr (1)	77	54	46	44	46	60	134	158
Aberdeen	291	303	323	336	328	326	350	305
Dundee	167	188	200	278	279	277	313	334
Perth	61	64	64	70	61	54	62	64
Arbroath, Montrose	88	80	82	79	71	67	69	78
Banff	75	79	78	98	101	182	206	214
Inverness	54	57	50	50	50	48	50	52
Total	2845	2890	2912	3173	3151	3470	3792	3898
Shetland Islands	1862	1863	1864	1865	1866	1867	1868	1869
Lerwick	441	444	455	505	517	505	483	473
Walls	501	511	570	598	611	613	597	584
Northmavin	182	170	187	201	205	207	200	203
North Isles	209	204	224	239	254	264	252	235
Dunrossness	375	387	429	410	428	415	417	397
Total	1708	1716	1865	1953	2015	2004	1949	1892

(1) Includes Stewarton and Girvan

	1870	1871	1872	1873	1874	1875	1876	1877
Dumfries	32	35	30	34	36	36	44	42
Edinburgh	501	472	468	440	473	388	450	475
Leith	80	69	66	72	84	91	100	110
Dunbar	36	35	26	29	31	24	26	33
Greenock	88	88	96	99	97	91	101	94
Glasgow								
John Street	624	590	593	494	495	507	444	436
St. Thomas	257	259	223	236	165	150	156	158
Cathcart Road	309	310	347	380	380	235	243	220
Claremont	210	220	226	219	200	206	187	229
Paisley Road	---	---	---	---	---	209	220	231
Dumbarton	96	57	61	66	78	88	84	96
Airdrie	118	83	60	61	64	62	60	79
Wallacestone	351	331	148	120	126	141	150	141
Armadale	---	---	---	---	---	130	130	110
Kilsyth	---	---	170	154	158	159	135	136
Stirling	46	37	32	33	34	30	30	52
Ayr	161	158	157	145	128	107	80	83
Stewarton	---	---	---	---	---	---	38	41
Aberdeen	301	279	260	229	204	235	235	148
Peterhead	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	81
Dundee								
Ward Road	252	252	220	223	211	223	235	264
Wellington Street	84	84	86	86	86	92	100	79
Perth	64	67	61	51	51	51	55	58
Arbroath, Montrose	74	74	64	63	67	72	75	65
Banff	188	196	278	279	296	333	53	54
Portessie	---	---	---	---	---	---	265	248
Inverness	50	46	43	27	30	37	38	40

Total	3922	3742	3715	3540	3494	3697	3634	3803
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Shetland Islands	1870	1871	1872	1873	1874	1875	1876	1877
Lerwick	459	446	448	449	419	392	388	308
Dunrossness	368	346	288	284	268	266	262	246
Walls	579	547	555	546	547	500	467	364
Northmavin	201	184	178	165	150	137	133	129
North Isles	225	226	249	251	241	233	233	175
Total	1832	1749	1718	1695	1633	1528	1488	1222

	1878	1879	1880	1881	1882	1883	1884	1885
Dumfries	31	38	22	18	16	16	23	25
Edinburgh	495	471	471	457	452	500	493	482
Leith	122	132	128	147	157	142	157	164
Dunbar	34	27	21	17	---	---	---	---
Greenock	98	89	94	91	90	102	96	131
Glasgow								
John Street	438	304	289	271	274	293	333	363
St. Thomas	159	153	154	158	159	130	142	162
Cathcart Road	225	216	216	222	232	244	260	274
Claremont	277	268	271	269	274	286	342	302
Paisley Road	215	202	224	216	242	332	324	302
Raglan Street	---	---	---	109	113	144	154	157
Kilsyth	139	125	129	120	126	136	139	138
Dumbarton	91	98	126	113	120	147	200	198
Ayr	64	62	64	60	58	53	102	138
Stewarton	49	50	51	49	58	50	---	---
Airdrie	64	62	60	89	100	116	121	131
Armadales	73	73	74	80	60	109	137	122
Wallacestone	129	130	132	107	116	127	148	130
Stirling-Doune	66	67	68	52	57	60	63	55
Aberdeen	153	154	151	157	146	147	163	171
Peterhead	84	87	90	90	109	118	118	113
Dundee								
Ward Road	256	284	300	296	245	260	262	245
Victoria Road	79	62	61	70	73	78	83	80
Perth	56	54	51	61	62	64	67	70
Arbroath, Montrose	58	62	74	64	60	60	61	64
Banfi	54	55	55	56	56	58	68	68
Portessie	238	229	236	226	253	265	255	257
Inverness	47	49	54	55	59	62	58	56
Total	3794	3603	3666	3525	3867	4099	4369	4448
Shetland Islands	1878	1879	1880	1881	1882	1883	1884	1885
Lerwick	)503	)518	)499	)489	)497	)541	)625	)648
Dunrossness))))))))
Walls	345	357	394	381	405	396	405	399
Northmavin-	128	136	167	143	130	136	175	196
Delting								
North Isles	194	196	174	176	150	147	157	155
Total	1170	1207	1234	1169	1232	1270	1362	1393

	1886	1887	1888	1889	1890	1891	1892	1893
Dumfries	30	35	35	42	40	49	55	54
Edinburgh								
Nicolson Square	477	514	527	483	531	508	547	510
Mission	---	---	---	50	100	201	290	357
Leith	179	198	222	200	210	233	253	270
Glasgow								
St. John's	315	320	330	365	429	429	360	357
St. Thomas	180	209	220	225	222	220	222	223
Cathcart Road	265	280	322	330	333	344	339	307
Claremont Street	368	401	450	499	524	548	580	613
Paisley Road	264	273	293	329	341	371	396	417
N. W. Mission	---	---	---	---	126	117	128	134
Kilsyth	116	100	93	100	110	111	110	110
Dumbarton	182	183	74	67	53	55	57	64
Alexandria	---	---	96	98	90	90	80	74
Greenock	149	158	160	162	133	118	121	111
Ayr	145	140	138	136	148	152	140	149
Airdrie	123	131	122	122	110	115	120	122
Wallacestone	135	204	250	227	220	203	217	229
Stirling-Doune	55	58	48	46	46	46	41	37
Aberdeen	173	185	201	207	198	173	185	181
Peterhead	100	97	95	95	82	94	96	88
Dundee								
Ward Road	241	233	229	226	243	248	260	270
Victoria Road	87	92	90	112	109	116	110	99
Blairgowrie	33	51	66	69	71	72	74	75
Perth	62	55	58	66	70	70	65	67
Arbroath	73	80	87	91	23	42	45	45
Montrose	)	)	)	)	52	61	60	60
Banff	67	62	63	63	61	62	61	61
Portessie	261	268	269	253	264	266	271	266
Inverness	59	60	62	62	62	62	60	60
Armadale	86	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Total	4374	4539	4742	4251	5018	5181	5343	5410

Shetland Islands	1886	1887	1888	1889	1890	1891	1892	1893
Lerwick	672	700	712	706	702	696	677	632
Walls	400	340	357	340	402	575	603	603
Northmavin	133	179	178	179	163	173	184	184
North Isles	155	142	142	142	136	128	127	118
Total	1410	1369	1389	1369	1403	1572	1591	1557

	1894	1895	1896	1897	1898	1899	1900	1901
Dumfries	50	50	50	58	68	70	56	---
Edinburgh								
Nicolson Square	508	496	512	557	581	594	607	621
Mission	393	527	608	666	646	642	655	673
Leith	280	290	304	310	340	362	373	375
Glasgow								
St. John's	325	282	279	281	296	305	332	341
St. Thomas	231	240	295	325	341	363	374	377
Cathcart Road	305	326	327	316	331	369	372	376
Claremont Street	597	555	545	541	548	573	581	590
Paisley Road	431	442	446	447	441	519	531	504
N. W. Mission	201	284	318	340	358	362	363	364
Kilsyth	117	164	197	203	210	206	206	210
Dumbarton	75	77	67	67	55	51	58	) 56
Alexandria	67	74	74	70	67	77	83	) 73
Greenock	106	100	108	115	117	118	118	130
Ayr	150	151	132	136	101	108	89	102
Airdrie	132	130	133	131	132	127	153	183
Wallacestone	285	300	299	172	176	178	167	169
Falkirk Mission	---	---	---	114	140	144	161	189
Stirling-Doune	39	44	41	41	41	39	39	47
Aberdeen	193	201	205	217	222	223	245	276
Peterhead	82	77	80	83	82	60	71	69
Dundee								
Ward Road	280	285	290	286	285	284	287	291
Victoria Road	105	92	109	115	122	115	115	117
Blairstown	86	83	72	67	59	57	57	61
Perth	71	66	70	73	80	87	92	82
Arbroath	45	54	58	59	64	60	73	76
Montrose	61	61	59	52	55	54	53	63
Banff	60	58	64	67	64	64	69	63
Portessie	261	260	260	262	264	267	254	256
Inverness	80	90	80	87	86	94	96	106
Total	5616	5859	6082	6263	6373	6572	6730	6840

	1894	1895	1896	1897	1898	1899	1900	1901
Shetland Islands								
Lerwick	658	681	700	722	717	748	748	751
Walls	595	598	585	583	575	553	460	473
Northmavin	202	201	182	172	150	160	146	142
North Isles	140	145	146	145	143	156	163	171
Total	1595	1625	1613	1622	1585	1617	1517	1537

	1902	1903	1904	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909
Dumfries	Included with Carlisle							
Edinburgh								
Nicolson Square	657	697	714	697	705	664	653	669
Mission	697	731	717	760	761	749	755	779
Leith	232	275	275	237	326	343	347	363
Glasgow								
St. John's	343	354	363	352	344	350	360	363
St. Thomas	380	400	394	400	399	392	414	430
Cathcart Road	378	364	377	395	404	425	437	465
Claremont Street	600	604	628	639	798	802	827	849
Paisley Road	503	440	405	453	458	441	441	408
N. W. Mission	365	367	378	388	379	354	362	366
Bridgeton Mission	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	37
Kilsyth	272	293	286	284	274	285	293	290
Dumbarton	)125	)126	)119	)119	---	---	---	---
Alexandria))))				
Greenock	130	131	116	108	106	116	122	122
Ayr	118	114	112	101	112	114	112	73
Coatbridge-Airdrie	184	191	180	164	255	256	257	244
Wallacestone-	199	218	224	224	)409	)442	)423	)429
Armadale								
Falkirk Mission	210	231	251	258))))
Stirling-Doune	48	48	50	55	62	64	68	70
Aberdeen	268	257	263	250))))
North of Scotland	387	481	673	780	)1066	)1071	)1104	)1051
Mission (1)								
Dundee								
Ward Road	398	353	348	358	376	393	383	372
Blairgowrie	63	70	61	60	58	50	46	42
Perth Mission	84	89	97	108	140	110	110	110
Arbroath	76	85	85	85	85	85	85	107
Montrose	68	70	70	72	76	80	85	101
Inverness	108	98	98	98	93	101	108	120
Paisley Mission	---	83	109	215	275	303	330	343
Total	6941	7170	7393	7710	7961	7990	8122	8223
Shetland Islands	1902	1903	1904	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909
Lerwick-	760	770	760	704	701	702	708	700
Lunrossness								
Walls	492	516	490	491	491	471	443	432
Northmavin-Delting	151	158	159	165	164	166	183	186
North Isles	172	163	187	178	181	186	195	192
Total	1575	1627	1596	1528	1557	1547	1534	1510

(1) Includes Peterhead, Portessie, Buckie, Banff, Port Gordon, and after 1905 Aberdeen.

	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914	1915	1916	1917
Edinburgh								
Nicolson Square	724	739	749	754	703	703	694	705
Mission	823	860	901	968	1037	1047	1055	1065
Leith	365	345	339	335	337	339	346	319
Glasgow								
St. John's	424	398	390	388	395	381	410	421
St. Thomas	424	430	431	410	418	409	406	418
Cathcart Road	471	461	442	447	399	399	400	374
Claremont Street	873	880	839	818	810	795	845	873
Paisley Road	388	372	347	314	310	364	377	392
N. W. Mission	246	312	304	312	315	307	300	280
East Mission	---	170	200	202	204	163	170	172
Paisley Mission	363	384	396	444	379	380	374	388
Kilsyth	236	222	223	223	190	165	167	155
Ayrshire Mission								
Girvan	---	80	73	76	79	76	65	66
Greenock	122	136	140	155	157	176	163	163
Coatbridge-Airdrie	235	238	241	242	240	222	228	238
Wallacestone-								
Armadale	393	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Falkirk-								
Wallacestone	---	387	443	444	424	401	396	403
Bridgeton Mission	95	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Stirling	---	60	---	---	---	---	---	---
North of Scotland								
Mission	987	967	970	949	952	963	979	982
Dundee	362	363	366	376	367	362	350	344
Blairgowrie (1)	269	281	284	290	299	52	54	54
Perth	110	102	101	87	66	86	92	95
Inverness	125	125	137	143	135	141	140	134
Arbroath	---	---	---	---	---	141	161	161
Montrose	---	---	---	---	---	100	101	103
Total	8278	8312	8316	8377	8216	8172	8273	8305
Shetland Isles	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914	1915	1916	1917
Lerwick-	704	696	678	652	601	621	606	591
Dunrosness								
Walls	410	422	422	451	452	419	387	377
Northmavin-Delting	215	195	186	193	217	184	184	183
North Isles	191	195	193	172	165	165	168	167
Total	1520	1508	1479	1468	1425	1389	1345	1318

(1) Arbroath and Montrose included.

	1918	1919	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925
Edinburgh								
Nicolson Square	672	677	665	632	651	667	684	687
Mission	1071	1074	1085	1103	1108	1206	1253	1268
Leith	321	322	328	337	354	338	342	335
Rosyth	57	86	106	80	78	---	---	---
Glasgow								
St. John's (2)	425	427	430	453	501	514	520	523
St. Thomas	426	412	411	392	387	400	388	396
Cathcart Road	401	403	387	389	414	419	421	423
Claremont Street	873	847	792	773	794	841	852	941
Paisley Road	388	393	412	405	430	454	468	535
N. W. Mission (3)	246	249	251	214	174	206	255	297
East Mission	172	160	180	185	175	182	181	181
Paisley Mission	400	427	427	437	475	484	535	573
Kilsyth	153	152	148	148	155	157	149	139
Girvan	68	74	75	71	71	70	67	79
Greenock	161	145	155	151	157	169	161	160
Coatbridge-Airdrie	248	258	265	259	261	263	247	237
Falkirk-Wallacestone	437	440	410	)446	)454	)461	)444	)433
Stirling)))))
North of Scotland								
Mission (1)	1008	993	1014	1035	1115	1167	1171	1146
Dundee	317	309	320	310	397	423	378	347
Perth	100	98	89	66	---	---	95	120
Blairgowrie	50	45	42	44	36	40	41	43
East Coast Mission	---	---	---	140	)249	)243	)230	)247
Montrose	101	100	100	) 97))))
Arbroath	158	153	153)))))
Inverness	131	130	131	136	131	135	130	150
Total	8384	8374	8376	8303	8557	8839	9012	9260

	1918	1919	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925
Shetland Islands								
Lerwick-	572	575	596	609	630	651	663	672
Dunrossness								
Walls	374	381	373	363	357	351	356	360
Northmavin-	183	178	164	---	---	---	---	---
Delting								
North Roe	---	---	---	165	180	185	181	181
North Isles	166	160	159	179	178	173	180	182
Total	1295	1294	1292	1316	1345	1360	1380	1395

- (1) Includes Aberdeen, Portessie, Peterhead, Findochty, Banff, Port Gordon.
- (2) 146 members were transferred from St. John's, Glasgow, to Paisley Mission in 1928.
- (3) Called Central Mission from 1927.

	1926	1927	1928	1929
Edinburgh				
Nicolson Square	639	689	692	692
Mission	1244	1238	1273	1305
Leith	318	337	361	368
Glasgow				
St. John's	523	523	468	304
St. Thomas	396	445	448	430
Cathcart Road	430	406	401	405
Claremont Street	1036	1077	1123	1221
Paisley Road	564	565	580	572
N. W. Mission	317	353	378	400
East Mission	183	193	205	220
Paisley Mission	580	600	610	766
Kilsyth	134	132	147	150
Girvan	83	74	73	68
Greenock	172	179	189	198
Coatbridge-Airdrie	245	244	258	263
Falkirk-Wallacestone	)435	)436	)430	)422
Stirling))))
North of Scotland				
Mission	1135	1117	1112	1105
Dundee	365	371	365	344
Perth	133	146	142	145
Blairgowrie	46	43	43	40
East Coast Mission	258	267	265	248
Inverness	150	147	145	151
Total	9436	9582	9713	9817

	1926	1927	1928	1929
Shetland Islands				
Lerwick	587	587	575	586
Walls	367	365	358	371
North Roe	180	169	163	165
North Isles	179	174	187	189
Total	1313	1295	1283	1311

APPENDIX D

METHODIST PASTORATES IN SCOTLAND

The data in this Appendix has been compiled chiefly from Hall's Circuits and Ministers, and from the Minutes of Conference. Data secured from other sources has been indicated in the foot-notes.

METHODIST PASTORATES IN SCOTLAND

ABERDEEN.-(1)

Christopher Hopper, 1759; James Kershaw, 1760; William Fugill, 1761; William Thompson, 1762; Thomas Hanby, 1763-1764; Joseph Thompson, 1765; Thomas Taylor, 1766; James Brownfield, 1767; (Included with Dundee in 1768-1769.) George Story, Thomas Cherry, Robert Swan, 1770; George Story, George Wadsworth, James Watson, 1771; Duncan Wright, Thomas Dixon, Christopher Watkins, Thomas Rutherford, Robert Dall, 1772; Thomas Dixon, John Bredin, Thomas Tatton, Thomas Rutherford, Robert Dall, 1773; Robert Wilkinson, James Watson, 1774; William Eels, Peter Furguson, 1775; William Eels, Stephen Proctor, Duncan M'Allum, 1776; Francis Wrigley, Joseph Saunderson, Joseph Moore, 1777; Joseph Saunderson, J. Watson, sen, Duncan M'Allum, 1778; (Inverness separated two years.) Joseph Saunderson, William Dufton, 1779; Joseph Saunderson, John Hampson, jun, 1780; Peter Mill, Samuel Bardsley, Andrew Inglis, 1781; Andrew Inglis, Hugh Moore, William Warrenner, 1782; Duncan M'Allum, Alexander Suter, Thomas Bartholomew, John Ogilvie, 1783; (Inverness separated fourteen years.) Duncan M'Allum, John Crosby, 1784; Joseph Taylor, Richard Watkinson, 1785-1786; Robert Johnson, Joseph Saunderson, 1787; Robert Johnson, John Cross, 1788; Duncan M'Allum, Robert Harrison, 1789; Duncan M'Allum, John Townsend, 1790; Thomas Vasey, John Townsend, 1791; Alexander Kilham, James

(1) The official lists in the Conference begins with the year 1765, but the ministers labouring in the Aberdeen Circuit are known from 1759. See Sketch of Methodism in Aberdeen, by C. D., p. 16.

Aberdeen cont'd.-

Anderson, 1792; Alexander Kilham, Joseph Saunderson, 1793; Alexander Kilham, William Fenwick, 1794; William Stephenson, Thomas Ingham, 1795; William Stephenson, Richard Waddy, 1796; John Doncaster, Arthur Hutchinson, 1797; Duncan M'Allum, George Douglas, Arthur Hutchinson, Richard Waddy, John Gisburn, John Vipond, 1798; Duncan M'Allum, William Saunderson, Thomas Wilton, William Atherton, John Gisburn, Philip Garrett, 1799; (Inverness Circuit formed 1800.) John Saunderson, William Atherton, 1800; John Saunderson, Philip Garrett, 1801; John Townsend, John Foster, jun., 1802; John Townsend, William Scholefield, 1803; William Welborne, George Thompson, 1804; William Welborne, John Fisher, 1805; John Phillips, Joseph Brittain, 1806-1807; Joseph Kitchen, William Tranter, 1808; Joseph Kitchen, John Kemp, 1809; Samuel Kittle, James Dunbar, 1810; Samuel Kittle, Alexander Bell, 1811; Duncan M'Allum, Alexander Bell, 1812; Duncan M'Allum, John Shipman, William Blundell, 1813; Duncan M'Allum Thomas Ballinghall, James Miller, 1814; Joshua Bryan, Thomas Ballinghall, James Miller, 1815; Joshua Bryan, James Smetham, Alexander Strachan, 1816; (Peterhead separated eleven years.) Valentine Ward, John M'Owan, 1817; Valentine Ward, John M'Owan, Peter M'Owan, 1818; Valentine Ward, Peter M'Owan, 1819; Thomas Bridgman, Jonathan Porter, 1820-1821; Thomas Bridgman, Richard Tabraham, 1822; Benjamin Andrews, Richard Tabraham, 1823; Benjamin Andrews, Joshua Hocken, 1824; John Shipman, Joshua Hocken, 1825; John Shipman, Henry Hickman, 1826; Robert Nicholson, Francis Neal, 1827-1829; Thomas Cocking, William Harvey, 1830; Thomas Cocking, Robert Leake, 1831; Robert Thompson, Robert Leake, 1832; Robert Thompson, Joseph Pascall, 1833; Robert Thompson, Alexander Manzie, William Bond, 1834; William Constable, Thomas Thompson, jun., Donald M. R. Coghill, 1835; James Rosser, Thomas Thompson, jun., William Sugden, 1836; James Rosser, Henry Hine, Francis Taylor, 1837; William France, Henry Hine, Francis Taylor, 1838; William France, Samuel T. Sproston, John Stirzaker, 1839; William Wears, Joseph Hudson, James Findlay, 1840; William Wears, Thomas Brookes, William Roberts, 1841; William Lindley, Thomas Brookes, Thomas S. Wood, 1842; William Lindley, Edmund B. Warters, Alexander M'Aulay, 1843; William Lindley, Edmund B. Warters, Edward Baylis, 1844; George Scott, Edward Baylis, Joseph Wilkinson, 1845; George Scott, Robert Haworth, Thomas H. Hill, 1846; George Scott, David Edgar, Robert Haworth, 1847; Peter Samuel, David Edgar, Robert Haworth, 1848; Peter Samuel, Richard Martin, Samuel M'Aulay, 1849; John Hannah, Richard Martin, Thomas T. Dilks, 1850-1851; Jabez Palmer, Joshua Mason, George P. Hester, 1852; Jabez Palmer, Joshua Mason, Thomas L. Parker, 1853-1854; William Hales, Peter Prescott, Thomas Waterhouse, 1855; William Hales, Thomas Waterhouse, Thomas Barr, 1856; John Drake, George H. Chambers, Thomas Barr, 1857; John Drake, George H.

Aberdeen cont'd.-

Chambers, Henry J. Pope, 1858; John Drake, Henry J. Pope, Major F. Peet, 1859; John Reacher, David Stewart, Thomas Brighthouse, 1860; John Reacher, William Slack, Thomas Brighthouse, 1861; John Reacher, George Barlow, Robert N. Barritt, 1862; Thomas L. Parker, George Barlow, Amos Cleaver, 1863; Thomas L. Parker, Thomas Rodgers, Amos Cleaver, 1864; Thomas L. Parker, William Toplis, John W. Crake, 1865; John Holmes, William Toplis, Thomas Bolam, 1866; John Holmes, Amos Dyson, John D. Brash, 1867; John Holmes, Richard Solomon, William Griffiths, 1868; John Bell, Richard Solomon, William Griffiths, 1869; John Bell, James Fletcher, William Stevinson, B. A., 1870; Newton R. Penny, James Bolton, George Ingham, 1871; William Brewins, James Bolton, George Ingham, 1872; T. Inglis Walsh, Joseph Cade, Alexander Borrowman, 1873; T. Inglis Walsh, Rutland Spooner, Alexander Borrowman, 1874-1875; Thomas H. Horrell, John R. Cleminson, W. Burkitt Dalby, 1876; (Peterhead Circuit re-formed 1877.) Thomas H. Horrell, W. Burkitt Dalby, 1877; Thomas H. Horrell, William Douglas, 1878; W. W. Spencer, John Edwards, 1879-1880; W. W. Spencer, W. A. Simcox, 1881; Samuel Sheard, Benjamin Scott, B. A., 1882; John Judge, Benjamin Scott, B. A., 1883-1884; John Judge, David Knapp, 1885; John E. Pater, David Knapp, 1886-1887; John E. Pater, Albert Dickinson, 1888; John A. Barrow-Clough, B. D., Albert Dickinson, 1889; John A. Barrow-Clough, B. D., John Horn, 1890-1891; Benjamin Bean, John Horn, 1892; Benjamin Bean, James Edwin Dixon, 1893-1894; James Conder Nattrass, B. A., Thomas J. Hillary, 1895-1897; Frederick Platt, M. A., B. D., James Graham, 1898-1899; Frederick Platt, M. A., B. D., Herbert G. Reynolds, 1900; Herbert B. Workman, M. A., Herbert G. Reynolds, 1901-1902; Benjamin E. Hawkins, Joseph Dickeson, 1903; Benjamin E. Hawkins, William J. Hartley, 1904. (Joined North of Scotland Mission 1905.)

AIRDRIE.-(1)

John Drake, Gregory A. Page, 1845-1846; John Drake, Gregory A. Page, William L. Horton, 1847; Paul Clarke, Thomas H. Hill, Samuel M'Aulay, 1848; Paul Clarke, John Danks, Henry Balls, 1849; Stirling separated 1850.) William Allen, John T. Duncan, 1850; Peter Prescott, jun., John T. Duncan, 1851-1852; Peter Prescott, jun., George P. Hester, 1853; George P. Hester, Robert Balshaw, 1854; Thomas Haslam,

(1) Prior to 1845 Airdrie was attached to the Glasgow Circuit. In 1845 the Airdrie and Stirling Circuit was formed. The revival of work in Airdrie was largely due to the labours of Alexander Patrick. The Wallacetown Reformer by Rev. John Drake, pp. 31-40.

Airdrie cont'd.-

Robert Balshaw, 1855; Thomas Haslam, Thomas Fenwick, 1856; William Barrowclough, John Archer, 1857; William Barrowclough, William Slack, 1858; Abel Wood, William Slack, 1859; James Cuthbertson, William Slack, George Barlow, 1860; James Cuthbertson, Robert S. Coe, George Barlow, 1861; James Cuthbertson, John Burgess, William H. Wall, 1862; Edward Abraham, John Burgess, William H. Wall, 1863; Edward Abraham, John Burgess, Alfred Beer, 1864; Edward Abraham, Joseph Hewitson, Albert J. Popham, 1865; Henry Sharp, Joseph Hewitson, Jabez Chambers, 1866-1867; Henry Sharp, James A. Rimmer, Thomas Rowson, 1868; (Wallace-stone Circuit formed 1869.) James A. Rimmer, 1869; John Tesseyman, 1870; Joshua Fielden, 1871; Samuel Millet, 1872; Samuel Millet, Henry J. Robinson, 1873; Samuel Millet, 1874; Edward J. Smith, 1875; Edward J. Smith, Alexander Borrowman, 1876-1877; Jabez Chambers, Thomas Nicholson, 1878-1879; Jabez Chambers, William L. Davis, 1880; Samuel F. Balch, William H. Addicott, 1881; Samuel F. Balch, Jonathan Hewitson, 1882; Joseph H. Hargreaves, Jonathan Hewitson, 1883; Joseph B. Alger, Jonathan Hewitson, 1884; Joseph B. Alger, William J. Baker, 1885-1886; Robert Hopkins Mole, William J. Baker, 1887; Matthew Ingle, M. R. C. S., John J. Ward, 1888-1890; Andrew Baxter, John Moffatt, 1891-1893; Arthur Reeve, Benjamin Robinson, 1894-1896; George Beebee, John Elph Clarke, 1897. (Coatbridge and Airdrie Circuit formed 1898.)

ALEXANDRIA.-(1)

Benjamin Lawn, 1887-1888; Martin Luther Camburn, 1889-1891; Henry G. W. Weston, 1892; William Evans, 1893; Robert B. Nightingale, B. A., 1894-1896; Richard W. Watson, 1897-1899; Benjamin Robinson, 1900. (Vale of Leven Circuit formed 1901.)

ARBROATH.-(2)

Joseph Kitchen, 1810; Robert Melson, 1811; James Hopewell, 1812; Joseph Kitchen, 1813; Joseph Bryan, 1814; William West, 1815; Thomas Yates, 1816; James Spink, 1817; James Anderson, Joseph Robbins, 1818; Joseph Robbins, Thomas Bridgman, 1819; James Sugden, John Hague, 1820-1821; James Sugden, William Flint, 1822; Charles L. Adshead, William Flint, 1823; Charles L. Adshead, Thomas Moxon, 1824; John Wilson, Thomas Moxon, 1825; John Wilson, William Harvie, 1826; Francis Tremaine, George Turner, 1827; Benjamin Clayton, James C. Hindson, 1828; Benjamin Clayton, Joseph Wormersley, 1829; Robert Nicholson, Francis Neal,

(1) Formerly attached to Dumbarton. (2) Arbroath was originally a part of the Aberdeen Circuit and later of the Dundee Circuit.

Arbroath cont'd.-

1830-1831; Robert Nicholson, Thomas Graham, jun., 1832; James Kendall, Josiah Hudson, 1833; James Hyde, Joseph Pascal, 1834; Joseph Pascal, John S. Hudson, 1835; John Simon, Frances Taylor, 1836; John Simon, William Sugden, 1837; John Kilick, Josiah Mycock, 1838; John Kilick, James Harris, 1839; Joseph T. Wilkinson, Thomas Brookes, 1840; Joseph T. Wilkinson, James Findlay, 1841; Aaron Langley, William Roberts, 1842; Aaron Langley, David Edgar, 1843; John Luddington, David Edgar, 1844-1845; William Jewett, William Mearns, M. A., 1846; William Jewett, John Danks, 1847; John Drake, Lancelot Railton, 1848-1849; John Drake, Alfred Abbott, 1850; Ninian Barr, Theophilus Talbot, 1851; Ninian Barr, John S. Vickers, 1852; Ninian Barr, John T. Duncan, 1853; Uriah Butters, Marshal Randles, 1854; Samuel Healey, Marshall Randles, 1855; Samuel Healey, George H. Chambers, 1856; James Faulkner, Thomas Thompson, 1857; James Faulkner, Thomas Brighthouse, 1858-1859; John Drake, Major F. Peet, 1860-1861; John Drake, Amos Cleaver, 1862; William Pritchard, Charles Locking, 1863; William Pritchard, John W. Crake, 1864; John Stembridge, Thomas Rodgers, 1865; John Drake, Thomas Rodgers, 1866; John Drake, John Burdon, 1867; John Drake, William Waters, 1868; John W. Moody, Joseph Symes, 1869; John W. Moody, George E. Sheers, B. A., 1870; John W. Moody, Sidney Mees, 1871; Edward J. Smith, John S. Robinson, 1872-1873; Edward J. Smith, George Ingham, 1874; John Mearns, George Ingman, 1875; Rutland Spooner, James Hugill, 1876; Edward Burton, James Hugill, 1877; Edward Burton, Alexander Borrowman, 1878-1879; Benjamin Hawkins, John Baker, 1880-1882; Crawshaw Hargreaves, William Earl, 1883-1885; (Arbroath and Montrose 1886-1888.) William Holdsworth, John W. Hartley, 1886-1887; William Holdsworth, George Dyer 1888; (Montrose Circuit formed 1889.) William Reynolds, 1889-1890; Arthur Reeve, 1891-1893; John James Ward, 1894-1896; Thomas J. Kent, 1897; Edward Crump, 1898-1900; John Carter, 1901-1904; Edward H. Simpson, 1905-1907; Cecil M. Weeks, 1908; (Joined to Blairgowrie 1909.) Lewis A. Brown, 1914; John W. Mountford, 1915-1918; Richard W. Lowry, 1919-1920; (Joined to East Coast Mission 1921.)

ARMADALE.-(1)

James Fletcher, John Mead, 1874; Ulric H. Allen, Philip Bainbridge, 1875; Joseph Bacon, Philip Bainbridge, 1876; Joseph Bacon, James J. Bosward, 1877; Samuel Hickmans, 1878-1880; George H. Chambers, 1881-1883; Edward Bowman, 1884-1885.

(1) Attached to Edinburgh previously.

AYR.-

Duncan M'Allum, 1786; Alexander Suter, William Joughin, 1787; Joseph Cole, Robert Dall, 1788;---Robert Harrison, 1792; Robert Swan, 1793; Richard Waddy, 1794;---Richard Thompson, 1798-1799; John Gisburn, 1800; Thomas Wilton, 1801; William Gilpin, 1802;---Thomas Hurd, 1804;---John Rowson, 1809; John Rowson, Benjamin Hudson, 1810; John Rowson, 1811; George Willoughby, William Jackson, 1812; Humphrey Stephenson, Thomas Barritt, 1813-1814; George Thompson, Hodgson Casson, 1815-1816; Thomas Hamar, Alexander Strachan, 1817-1818; Donald Fraser, Timothy Ingle, 1819; Joseph Burgess, jun., Thomas Rower, 1820; John W. Barritt, 1821; Joseph Womersley, 1822; John M'Owan, 1823-1824; William Robson, 1825; William Wilkinson, 1826-1827; Thomas Pearson, 1828; Henry Turner, 1829-1831; Jonathan Barrowclough, 1832-1833; Andrew Mackintosh, John Ryan, 1834; Andrew Mackintosh, Daniel West, 1835; Josiah Hudson, Daniel West, 1836; Josiah Hudson, Jonathan Innes, 1837; John Simon, Jonathan Innes, 1838; John Simon, Samuel Bowman, 1839; John Connon, Alexander M'Aulay, 1840; John Connon, 1841; Henry Hastling, 1842-1844; Edmund B. Warters, 1845-1846; George Patterson, 1847-1849; James Beckwith, 1850-1851; Samuel Heeley, 1852-1854; Alexander Mansie, 1855; Francis Barker, 1856-1858; Thomas Ratcliffe, 1859-1860; William Willey, 1861-1862; John I. Britten, 1863; Thomas Stephenson, 1864; Joseph Williams, 1865-1866; Edwin Hayward, Joseph Symes, 1867; Newton R. Penny, Joseph Symes, James Drummond, 1868; Newton R. Penny, James Drummond, William B. Lowther, 1869; Newton R. Penny, George M. Colledge, William Greenwood, 1870; Edward Baylis, George M. Colledge, William Greenwood, 1871-1872; Edward Barber, James Bolton, William J. Boote, 1873; Edward Barber, Henry J. Quilter, Charles M. Greenway, 1874; William Jackson, William Brown, William H. Coradine, 1875; (Stewarton formed 1876.) William Jackson, William Brown, 1876; William Jackson, Thomas Pitt, 1877; James R. Sharpley, Clement S. Reader, 1878-1879; James R. Sharpley, George Hooper, 1880; Silas Jones, George Hooper, 1881; George Hooper, Edward Milner, 1882; Joseph W. Clucas, 1883-1885; William H. Johnston, 1886-1888; Henry G. W. Weston, 1889-1891; Joseph Cooper, 1892-1894; William Cuthbert, 1895-1897; Joseph Watson, 1898-1899; Peter J. Robertson, 1900; William H. Dale, 1901-1902; Samuel F. Balch, 1903; Thomas Rowson, 1904-1906;---
 Ayrshire Mission.
 Robert Armstrong, 1908; Percy H. Simpson, 1909-1910; John H. Kent, 1911; Francis C. Hoggarth, B. A., 1912-1913; Frederick A. Tomlinson, 1914;1915; S. Wilcox Stocker, 1916-1918. (Girvan Circuit 1919.)

BANFF.-

Joseph Cross, James Penman, Patrick Kelley, 1794; (Joined to Inverness.) Joshua Bryan, 1809; John Kemp, 1810-1811; Edward Wilson, 1812; Alexander Bell, John Milne, 1813; Luke Heywood, George Greenwood, 1814; Luke Heywood, Alexander Strachan, 1815; James Sugden, James Miller, 1816; James Sugden, John Jackson, 1817; Jonathan Porter, John Barritt, jun., 1818; Jonathan Porter, John Hague, 1819; Arthur G. Jewitt, Richard Tabraham, 1820; John M'OWan, Richard Tabraham, 1821; John M(OWan, John Dickinson, 1822; Donald Frazer, William Robson, 1823; William Robson, George Turner, 1824; John Smedley, George Turner, 1825; John Smedley, George North, 1826; Charles L. Adshead, William Harvie, 1827-1828; Thomas Pearson, William Harvie, 1829; Thomas Pearson, Andrew Mackintosh, 1830; James Kendall, Andrew Mackintosh, 1831; James Kendall, Battinson Kay, 1832; John Prior, Battinson Kay, 1833; John S. Hudson, 1834; John Connon, 1835-1836; Joseph Moorhouse, 1837; Joseph Binns, 1838-1839; Henry Dean, 1840-1841; Edward Baylis, 1842-1843; Thomas Brookes, 1844-1846; Thomas H. Hill, 1847; John Danks, 1848; Robert Haworth, 1849-1851; Andrew Rennard, 1852-1853; John Reacher, 1854-1856; George E. Young, 1857; George Smith, 1858; William Barrowclough, 1859-1861; William Slack, 1862; Robert N. Barritt, 1863; Major F. Peet, Thomas Major, 1864-1865; Edward Abraham, Thomas Major, 1866; Edward Baylis, George Reid, 1867-1868; Richard Webb, John M. Mangles, 1869-1870; Richard Webb, William Boswell Lowther, 1871; Ulric H. Allen, Charles G. Harris, William Boswell Lowther, 1872; Ulric H. Allen, William Boswell Lowther, Griffith Griffiths, 1873; Ulric H. Allen, Stephan G. Scott, William Brown, 1874; Francis Truman, W. Burkitt Dalby, Thomas Bird, 1875; (Portessie Circuit formed 1876.) George Makin, 1876-1878; John D. Clark, 1879-1880; J. Bawden Allen, 1881; Charles A. Booth, 1882-1884; R. Watkins Jones, 1885-1886; William A. Templar, 1887-1888; George Hooper, 1889-1891; Alexander Borrowman, 1892-1894; H. Gorton Edge, 1895-1896; T. Nicholson Ritson, 1897; Isaac Rodgers, 1898; Archibald J. Andrews, 1899-1900. (North of Scotland Mission formed 1901.)

BLAIRGOWRIE.-

Edward J. Brailsford, 1885-1890; William H. Groves, M. A., 1891-1893; David C. Ingram, 1894-1896; T. Calland Hartley, 1897-1899; George Gibson, 1900-1902; Rutland Spooner, 1903-1905; John Bartley, 1906-1908; J. Alexander Clapperton, M. A., Frederick Balch, Cecil M. Weeks, 1909-1910; J. Alexander Clapperton, M. A., Frederick Balch, Lewis A. Brown, 1911; J. Sutcliffe Allen, F. Johnson Howden, Lewis A. Brown, 1912-1913; J. Sutcliffe Allen, 1914-1918; John J. Leedal, 1919-1921; Thomas W. Beck (Supernumerary), 1922-1923; Thomas W. Beck, Sup., Charles

Blairgowrie cont'd.-

R. Burroughs, Sup., 1924-1929.

BRECHIN.-

Joseph Saunderson, Thomas Ingham, Richard Thompson, 1794; Joseph Saunderson, Joseph Cross, 1795; Stephen Eversfield, George Douglas, 1796; John Ward, George Douglas, 1797; John Ward, Thomas Wilton, 1798; George Douglas, Arthur Hutchinson, 1799; George White, William Gilpin, 1800; William Fenwick, 1801; William Atherton, Philip Garrett, 1802; William Atherton, John Fairbourne, 1803; John Phillips, John Fisher, 1804; John Phillips, Robert Martin, 1805; Joseph Kitchin, Robert Martin, 1806; Joseph Kitchin, William Harrison, jun., 1807; James Lowry, 1808; William Saunderson, James Lowry, 1809; Robert Melson, Alexander Bell, 1810; George Douglas, 1811; George Douglas, J. Partis Haswell, 1812; George Willoughby, Donald Frazer, 1813; Joseph Kitchin, William Blundell, 1814; Joseph Kitchin, John M'Owan, 1815-1816; Thomas Yates, Thomas Hewitt, 1817; (United to Arbroath 1818.)

COATBRIDGE AND AIRDRIE.-

George Beebee, John Elph Clarke, 1898; William H. Rolls, John Elph Clarke, 1899; William H. Rolls, Ernest Ogden, 1900; William H. Rolls, Peter J. Robertson, 1901; Herbert H. Adams, Peter J. Robertson, 1902; 1903; Herbert H. Adams, Frank H. Lowther, 1904; John Carter, Thomas H. Cullen, 1905; John Carter, Thomas H. Cullen, J. Parton Milum, 1906; John Carter, J. Parton Milum, G. Arnold Standfast, 1907; Jeremiah Sanson, J. Parton Milum, William Ackroyd, 1908; Jeremiah Sanson, Charles Speck, Henry C. Veale, 1909-1910; John T. Waddy, B. A., Charles Speck, Henry C. Veale, 1911; John T. Waddy, B. A., Alfred J. Harvey, Robert E. Newton, 1912; John T. Waddy, B. A., Ernest Ogden, Robert E. Newton, 1913; Richard W. Lowry, Ernest Ogden, Robert E. Newton, 1914; Richard W. Lowry, Ernest Ogden, George W. Curtis, 1915; Richard W. Lowry, R. J. Anglin Johnson, 1916-1918; Joseph Dickeson, R. J. Anglin Johnson, 1919; Joseph Dickeson, Frank W. Wilkes, 1920; John Hunt, Frank W. Wilkes, S. Ogden Schofield, B. A., 1921; John Hunt, Wilfrid Homer, Cecil H. G. Carter, 1922; John Hunt, Wilfrid Homer Stanley T. Stratford, 1923; S. Wilcox Stocker, Wilfrid Homer, Archibald J. Scruby, 1924; J. Arthur Barker, C. Wesley Garratt, Leonard Harrison, 1925; J. Arthur Barker, C. Wesley Garratt, Arthur Truswell, 1926; J. Arthur Barker, C. Wesley Garratt, T. Eric Parr, 1927; S. Wilcox Stocker, Bernard V. Richardson, T. Eric Parr, 1928; Albert Dickinson, Bernard V. Richardson, Harold G. Johnson, 1929.

DUMBARTON.--(1)

George Latham, 1860-1861; Henry G. Faull, 1862; R. Wilberforce Starr, 1863-1865; William Cullum, 1866; Joseph Butters, 1867-1869; Joseph R. Hewitson, 1870-1872; Joseph Bacon, 1873-1875; John H. Hooper, 1876-1877; John H. Hooper, James J. Bosward, 1878; J. Watkiss Jones, Thomas Pitt, 1879-1880; Frederick H. Naylor, Thomas Pitt, 1881; Frederick H. Naylor, Henry S. B. Yates, 1882-1883; William Watson, Henry S. B. Yates, 1884; William Barrowclough, William H. Johnston, 1885; William Barrowclough, Benjamin Lawn, 1886; (Alexandria Circuit formed 1887.) William Barrowclough 1887; William T. Jones, 1888; W. Burkitt Dalby, 1889; William G. Dixon, 1890-1892; Thomas J. Macartney, 1893-1894; Jabez Marrat, 1895-1897; William A. Templar, 1898-1900. (Vale of Leven Circuit formed 1901.)

DUMFRIES.--(2)

Robert Dall, 1787;----Samuel Botts, 1790; John Barber, 1791; John Townsend, 1792; Robert Johnson, 1793-1794; Robert Dall, 1795-1796; John Barritt, 1797; John Doncaster, 1798-1799; George Douglas, 1800; Duncan M'Allum, 1801; William Hunter, 1802; Duncan M'Allum, 1803-1804; Michael Emmett, 1805; John Foster, 1806; William Fenwick, 1807; Robert Dall, 1808; George Douglas, 1809-1810; Lawrence Kane, 1811-1812; William West, 1813-1814; Robert Harrison, 1815-1816; John Poole, 1817; Edward Wilson, 1818; Humphrey Stevenson, 1819-1820; Hodgson Casson, 1821-1823; Duncan M'Allum, 1824; 1825; John Kemp, 1826; John Rogers, 1827-1828; Charles L. Adshead, 1829-1830; George Clarke, 1831-1832; Joseph Dunning, 1833; John Poole, 1834; Thomas Rought, 1835; James Hyde, 1836; John Wheelhouse, 1837-1839; William Jessop, 1840; James Lemmon, 1841; Samuel Healey, 1842-1843; William Jewett, 1844-1845; James Haughton, 1846; William Shearman, 1847-1849; Alfred Lockyer, 1850-1852; Alexander Mansie, 1853-1854; Thomas T. Dilks, 1855-1857; Samuel Atkinson, M. A., 1858-1859; George H. Chambers, 1860; Thomas Ratcliffe, 1861-1863; William H. Kendall, 1864; George G. S. Thomas, 1865; Joseph H. Skewes, 1866-1868; William Sellers, 1869-1870; John W. Thomas, 1871; John W. Moody, 1872-1873; Charles J. Barton, 1874; James Duff, 1875-1876; Luke Scott, 1877; George Beebee, 1878; John Atkins, 1879-1881; Henry Parry, 1882-1884; (Under the charge of the Chairman of the District from 1885-1892.) George Abbott, 1893-1894.

(1) Formerly attached to Glasgow West.

(2) Dumfries has been under the charge of the Chairman of the Carlisle District since 1895. A lay preacher is in charge of the work.

DUNBAR.--(1)

William Ellis, 1766; Thomas Simpson, Joseph Thompson, 1767; William Minethorp, 1768; Thomas Simpson, 1769; (With Edinburgh 1770-1812.) Benjamin Hudson, William Jackson, 1813-1814; Humphrey Stevenson, Thomas Bridgman, 1815-1816; Duncan M'Allum, Daniel M'Allum, 1817-1819; Joseph Beaumont, Alexander Strachan, 1820; James Anderson, 1821-1823; Joseph Dunning, 1824; Joseph Dunning, John M'Lean, 1825; Joseph Forsyth, Samuel Thompson, 1826; James Stott, Edward Usher, 1827; (Re-united with Edinburgh 1828-1829.) Jonathan Barrowclough, 1830-1831; Henry Turner, 1832-1834; John E. Coulson, William Bond, 1835; William Bond, Jonathan Innes, 1836; William Bond, John Harland, 1837; John Harland, William Bramford, 1838; John Connon, 1839; Samuel Bowman, 1840; Edward Jones, 1841; Samuel Lucas, 1842; Thomas Brookes, 1843; Alexander M'Aulay, 1844-1846; William Mearns, M. A., 1847-1848; Benjamin Frankland, jun., B. A., 1849; Robert Brown, 1850; Andrew Rennard, 1851; Theophilus Talbot, 1852-1853; William Unsworth, 1854-1855; John Stephenson, M. D. 1856-1857; Henry Holmes, 1858; David Stewart, 1859; William Maltby, 1860-1861; Major F. Peet, 1862-1863; William H. Wall, 1864-1865; Richard Nichols, 1866; Joseph Higham, 1867; Thomas Hind, 1868; George Denton, 1869; Thomas J. Macartney, 1870-1871; John D. Clark, 1872; George Ingman, 1873; Samuel Wilson, 1874-1876; W. Scott Page, 1877; Thomas Pitt, 1878; P. Campbell Jefferies, 1879; Levi James, 1880; (Re-united with Edinburgh 1881.)

DUNDEE.--(2)

William Whitwell, 1765; Thomas Olivers, 1766; Richard Blackwell, 1767; (Includes Perth and Aberdeen 1768-1769.) Thomas Cherry, Thomas Simpson, Robert Howard, 1768; Duncan Wright, Alexander M'Nab, Thomas Cherry, Lancelot Harrison, 1769; (With Aberdeen 1770-1773.) Thomas Rutherford, Peter Mill, John Wittam, 1774; Stephen Proctor, Francis Wrigley, Joseph Saunderson, 1775; Robert Wilkinson, Francis Wrigley, Joseph Saunderson, 1776; William Eels, Duncan M'Allum, 1777; Alexander M'Nab, William Dufton, 1778; George Mowatt, Robert Naylor, 1779; Jasper Robinson, William Dufton, 1780; Barnabas Thomas, 1781; Peter Mill, John Ogilvie, 1782; Joseph Saunderson, William Warrenner, 1783; Alexander Suter, Thomas Bartholomew, 1784; Thomas Hanby,

(1) A Methodist Society was formed in the latter end of the year 1755 and was visited by Mr. Wesley, and other Methodist preachers, at stated intervals. See Lives of the Methodist Preachers by Jackson, vol. IV, pp. 151-156.

(2) A Methodist Society was formed in Dundee by Christopher Hopper about 1759. See Sketch of Methodism in Aberdeen by C. D. p3

Dundee cont'd.-

Duncan M'Allum, 1785; Thomas Hanby, Robert Johnson, William Blagborne, 1786; Richard Watkinson, S. Botts, 1787-1788; Robert Johnson, Peter Mill, 1789; Robert Johnson, Peter Mill, John Doncaster, 1790; James Bogie, Robert Dall, Thomas Harrison, 1791; James Bogie, Robert Dall, Joseph Cross, 1792; James Bogie, John Townsend, Alexander Cummins, James Penman, 1793; (Brechin Circuit formed 1794.) John Townsend, Thomas Wood, 1794; Thomas Warwick, John Ward, 1795; James Thom, John Ward, 1796; John Kershaw, Joseph Cross, 1797; John Kershaw, Thomas Ingham, 1798; William Fenwick, Thomas Ingham, 1799; William Fenwick, John Stevens, 1800; John Stevens, William Heath, 1801; John Stevens, John Saunderson, 1802; William West, John Phillips, 1803; William Atherton, Joseph Meek, 1804-1805; William West, William Welborne, 1806; William Welborne, James Sykes, 1807; Samuel Kittle, James Sykes, 1808; Samuel Kittle, Edward F. Green, 1809; Edward F. Green, 1810; Joseph Kitchin, 1811-1812; Joseph Bryant, 1813; Thomas Yates, 1814-1815; William Clegg, 1816-1818; James Anderson, 1819-1820; Thomas Mollard, 1821-1823; George Bacon, 1824-1825; Henry Davis, Edward Walker, 1826; Henry Davis, Samuel Thompson, 1827; Ninian Barr, William Wilkinson, 1828; Ninian Barr, Robert Thompson, 1829; Benjamin Clayton, 1830-1832; Abraham Watmough, 1833-1834; Daniel K. Shoebottom, 1835; Robert Thompson, 1836-1837; James Mitchell, 1838-1840; James Beckwith, 1841-1842; William Cattle, 1843-1845; David Edgar, 1846; Lancelot Railton, 1847; Thomas R. Jones, 1848; Jabez Palmer, 1849-1851; George Palmer, 1852-1853; John Drake, 1854-1856; John Reacher, 1857-1859; Robert Haworth, 1860-1862; John Holmes, 1863; John Holmes, George Barlow, 1864-1865; William H. Bambridge, Joseph Cranswick, 1866; Alexander T. James, Joseph Cranswick, 1867; Henry J. Pope, Joseph Cranswick, 1868.

Ward Road.-

Henry J. Pope, 1869-1870; Jabez Marratt, 1871-1873; Thomas Broadbent, 1874; 1876; E. Ashton Jones, 1877-1879; James Bransom, 1880; George Barnley, 1881-1883; Joseph Dawson, 1884-1886; Joseph Shrimpton, 1887-1889; William Potts, 1890-1892; Clement Stuchberry, 1893-1895; Thomas Rathmell, 1896-1898; William Griffiths, 1899-1900; (Dundee Circuit formed 1901.) William Griffiths, Thomas W. Peeling, 1901; William Johnson, Thomas W. Peeling, 1902-1903; William Johnson, G. Evans Watson, 1904; Walter Fuller, G. Evans Watson, 1905-1906; Walter Fuller, Sydney Smith, 1907; Matthew F. Ryle, Sydney Smith, 1908-1909; Matthew F. Ryle, Frank H. Ashton, 1910; Richard W. Watson, Frank H. Ashton,

Dundee cont'd.-

1911-1912; Richard W. Watson, John Haslam, 1913; S. Wilcox Stocker, John Haslam, 1914; S. Wilcox Stocker, Benjamin Nume, 1915-1916; S. Wilcox Stocker, 1917; W. Proctor Robertson, B. D., 1918-1920; T. E. Barron Renton, Wilfrid Homer, 1921; T. E. Barron Renton, Harry Mortimer, 1922; T. E. Barron Renton, 1923; Cecil M. Weeks, 1924-1926; Charles H. Ingram, 1927-1929.

Victoria Road.-

Thomas L. Parker, 1869-1871; George Alton, 1872-1874; James Fletcher, 1875-1876; Thomas H. Lomas, 1877-1878; J. Taylor Binns, 1879-1881; Jonathan Foster, 1882-1883; John Wilson, 1884-1886; Francis W. Shirley, 1887-1889; J. Bawden Allen, 1890-1891; George Terry, B. A., 1892-1894; John Harries, 1895-1897; Thomas J. Price, 1898-1900. (Joined to Dundee Circuit 1901.)

EAST COAST MISSION.-

M. Aubrey Thomas, B. A., George H. Morris, 1921; A. Aubrey Thomas, B. A., William H. Baker, 1922-1923; J. Hartley Thompson, Thomas J. Bellis, 1924-1926; Edwin De Ville, 1927; Edwin De Ville, John Hunt, 1928-1929.

EDINBURGH.-(1)

Thomas Olivers, 1765; John Helton, Joseph Thompson, 1766; William Thompson, Mark Davis, 1767; William Thompson, 1768; John Atlay, 1769; Duncan Wright, William Thompson, 1770; Duncan Wright, Thomas Hanby, Christopher Watkins, Hugh Saunderson, 1771; George Story, Alexander M'Nab, Hugh Saunderson, George Wadsworth, 1772; William Thompson, Joseph Benson, John Broadbent, 1773; Joseph Benson, William Eels, John Bredin, 1774; Thomas Rutherford, James Rogers, Robert Wilkinson, 1775; Alexander M'Nab, Thomas Rutherford,

(1) Edinburgh and Aberdeen appear in the Minutes of 1749 as Circuits, but it was not until 1751 that the first Methodist preacher appeared in the person of Christopher Hopper, who accompanied Mr. Wesley on his first visit to Scotland. Mr. Hopper organized a small Society at Edinburgh in this same year. Edinburgh was served from Newcastle, and Hopper, Hanby, Olivers, Kershaw, Lowes, Fughill, were some of the men who laboured in this field. See Methodism in Scotland, by Wilson; Wesley's Works, vol. VII, pp. 785-7; Memoir of Matthew Lowes, Arminian Mag. 1795; Lives of Methodist Preachers, by Jackson, vol. 1, p. 206.

Edinburgh cont'd.-

James Rogers, 1776; Alexander M'Nab, Stephen Proctor, 1777; Francis Wrigley, Joseph Moore, 1778; Joseph Pilmoor, Barnabas Thomas, Benjamin Rhodes, 1779; William Thompson, John Watson, sen., Duncan M'Allum, 1780; William Thompson, Joseph Saunderson, Duncan M'Allum, 1781; Joseph Saunderson, Samuel Bardsley, James Bogie, 1782; Joseph Pilmoor, Andrew Inglis, 1783; Richard Watkinson, Andrew Inglis, 1784; John Pawson, Robert Johnson, 1785; John Pawson, Charles Atmore, 1786; Charles Atmore, John Keightley, 1787; Joseph Cownley, John Barber, 1788; Joseph Cole, Robert Dall, John Townsend, 1789; Joseph Cole, Thomas Vasey, Zachariah Yewdall, 1790; Joseph Cole, Samuel Botts, John Saunderson, 1791; Duncan M'Allum, Robert Johnson, John Riles, 1792; Duncan M'Allum, John Doncaster, Stephen Eversfield, 1793; James Bogie, Alexander Cummins, Stephen Eversfield, 1794; James Bogie, Richard Waddy, George Douglas, 1795; James Bogie, Joseph Cross, Thomas Ingham, 1796; Thomas Warwick, John Braithwaite, William Fenwick, 1797; Thomas Warwick, William Fenwick, George White, 1798; John Kershaw, George White, Thomas Preston, 1799; John Kershaw, John Phillips, Thomas Preston, 1800; William West, Arthur Hutchinson, William Atherton, 1801; William West, Arthur Hutchinson, John Aikenhead, 1802; John Stevens, David M'Nicholl, James Sykes, 1803; John Stevens, Joseph Kitchin, James Sykes, 1804; James Bridgnell, James Lowry, William Naylor, 1805-1806; William West, Edward Green, Robert Martin, 1807; William Atherton, Edward Green, William Harrison, jun., 1808; William Atherton, William Tranter, Joseph Brittain, George Willoughby, 1810; Duncan M'Allum, Robert Nicholson, Samuel Blackburn, 1811; Samuel Kittle, Robert Melson, Robert Nicholson, Donald Fraser, 1812; Samuel Kittle, Robert Melson, 1813; Samuel Kittle, Valentine Ward, 1814; Valentine Ward, John Bedford, 1815; Valentine Ward, John Lancaster, James Shoar, 1816; John Lancaster, John Dredge, James Beckwith, 1817; John Lancaster, John Dredge, Thomas Moss, 1818; Alexander Bell, George Manwaring, Thomas Moss, 1819; Alexander Bell, George Manwaring, Daniel M'Allum, Peter M'Owan, 1820; George Manwaring, Joseph E. Beaumont, Daniel M'Allum, Peter M'Owan, 1821; Josiah Goodwin, Joseph E. Beaumont, Richard R. Mole, George Marsland, 1822; Valentine Ward, Joseph E. Beaumont, George Marsland, 1823; Robert Jackson, George Marsland, Edward Ford, 1824; Edmund Grindrod, Thomas H. Bewley, John Ward, jun., 1825; Edmund Grindrod, Thomas H. Bewley, John M'Lean, 1826; Samuel Warren, John Watson, jun., Edward Walker, 1827; Samuel Warren, John Watson, jun., William Wears, Edward Walker, 1828; Samuel Warren, William Wears, John M'Lean, 1829; John Partis Haswell, John M'Lean, 1830; John Partis Haswell, Thomas Dunn, 1831-1832; Joseph E. Beaumont, James C.

Edinburgh cont'd.-

Hindson, 1833; Joseph E. Beaumont, John B. Moulton, Thomas Thompson, jun., 1834; Joseph E. Beaumont, Robert Bond, John Ryan, 1835; Samuel Dunn, Francis Barker, John Ryan, 1836; Samuel Dunn, Edward Jennings, John Egglestone, 1837; Jonathan J. Bates, Edward Jennings, Joseph Watson, 1838-1839; Jonathan J. Bates, Joseph Moorhouse, Joseph Watson, 1840; Peter Duncan, Joseph Moorhouse, Henry Hastling, 1841; Peter Duncan, Edmund B. Warters, Edward Jones, 1842; Peter Duncan, Thomas Williams, George T. Perks, 1843; John M'Lean, Thomas Williams, George T. Perks, 1844; John M'Lean, Thomas Williams, Thomas H. Hill, 1845; Charles Clay, John Stirzaker, John Parsons, 1846; William Horton, Henry Owen, John Hay, 1847-1848; William Horton, John Hay, William L. Horton, 1849; Robert M. Macbriar, M. A., George Turner, William L. Horton, 1850; Robert M. Macbriar, M. A., George Turner, Robert Brown, 1851; Robert M. Macbriar, M. A., John Mearns, 1852; George Turner, Joseph B. Dawson, 1853-1854; Robert S. Hardy, Joseph B. Dawson, 1855; Robert S. Hardy, John Baker, M. A., 1856-1857; John Burton, John Baker, M. A., 1858; John Burton, Robert Posnett, 1859; John Burton, Robert Davidson, M. A., 1860; William Willan, Robert Davidson, M. A., 1861; William Willan, Robert Davidson, M. A., Charles Pickering, 1862; William Willan, William L. Appleby, George Hobson, 1863; Alexander T. James, George Hobson, 1864; Alexander T. James, William G. Beardmore, 1865-1866; Thomas Ackroyd, Thomas Rodgers, 1867; Thomas Ackroyd, Jabez Chambers, 1868; Thomas Ackroyd, W. Wheatley Smith, Joseph F. Smalley, 1869; G. Stringer Rowe, W. Wheatley Smith, William Griffiths, 1870; G. Stringer Rowe, James Fletcher, Samuel Shrimpton, 1871; G. Stringer Rowe, James Fletcher, 1872; William Barber, James Fletcher, 1873; (Armadale Circuit formed 1874.) William Barber, 1874; Joseph Bush, Benjamin E. Hawkins, 1875; Joseph Bush, Benjamin E. Hawkins, Alexander Mayes, 1876; Joseph Bush, Elijah Sholl, Alexander Mayes, 1877; William F. Slater, M. A., Elijah Sholl, Alexander Mayes, 1878; William F. Slater, M. A., Elijah Sholl, William H. Lockhart, 1879; William F. Slater, M. A., William Done, John Howell Jones, 1880; Edward J. Brailsford, W. Arthur Labrum, 1881-1883; John Martin, Alfred S. Geden, M. A., 1884-1885; John Martin, William Wood, Samuel Chadwick, 1886; Thomas T. Lambert, Woodthorpe Baker, 1887; (Edinburgh Mission formed 1888.) Thomas T. Lambert, Woodthorpe Baker, 1888; Thomas T. Lambert, Arthur Hoyle, 1889; Wesley Brunyate, Arthur Hoyle, John N. Barrett Holdsworth, 1890-1891.

Nicolson Square

John Baker, M. A., John N. Barrett Holdsworth, Herbert Waterworth, 1892; John Baker, M. A., Herbert Waterworth,

Edinburgh cont'd.-

Arthur Rudman, 1893-1894; Enoch Biscoombe, James Edwin Dixon, Arthur Rudman, 1895; Enoch Biscoombe, James Edwin Dixon, Thomas B. Hindsley, 1896-1897; James Pratt, Thomas B. Hindsley, E. Sayer Ellis, 1898; James Pratt, Thomas B. Hindsley, E. Sayer Ellis, W. Turnbull Balmer, B. A., 1899; James Pratt, W. Turnbull Balmer, B. A., Thomas Heppell, Andrew B. Holliday, 1900; Dinsdale T. Young, Thomas Heppell, Andrew B. Holliday, T. Bright Jehu, 1901; Dinsdale T. Young, Thomas Heppell, Andrew B. Holliday, John Webster, 1902; Dinsdale T. Young, John P. Illingworth, C. Claud Mayes, B. A., Hiram Brown, 1903; James Lewis, C. Claud Mayes, B. A., Hiram Brown, A. Hobart Stacy, 1904-1905; James Lewis, A. Hobart Stacy, Theophilus J. W. Tilke, G. Montague L. Foyle, 1906; Trevor H. Davies, Edward Smith, Theophilus J. W. Tilke, J. Frederick Etchells, 1907; Trevor H. Davies, Edward Smith, J. Frederick Etchells, Lewis A. Brown, 1908; Trevor H. Davies, J. Frederic Etchelle, Lewis A. Brown, 1909; John Elsworth, Lewis A. Brown, Albert Burton, 1910; John Elsworth, R. Ladd Canney, Albert Burton, 1911; John Elsworth, H. C. Veale, Albert Burton, 1912; H. Maldwyn Hughes, B. A., D. D., Henry C. Veale, Robert H. Hingley, B. A., 1913; H. Maldwyn Hughes, B. A., D. D., G. Oswald Cornish, Robert H. Hingley, B. A., 1914; H. Maldwyn Hughes, B. A., D. D., G. Oswald Cornish, Edgar H. Hines, 1915-1916; H. Maldwyn Hughes, B. A., D. D., Edgar H. Hines, H. Victor Jones, 1917; H. Maldwyn Hughes, B. A., D. D., W. Loxley Chamings, B. Sc., B. D., H. Victor Jones, 1918; William L. Waights, Henry Strawson, M. A., B. D., H. Victor Jones, 1919-1920; William L. Waights, Henry Strawson, M. A., B. D., Albert Hutchinson, A. B., 1921; William L. Waights, James S. McLauchlan, Arthur W. Barr, 1922-1924; Alfred E. Whitham, A. Simpson Leck, Harold S. Darby, B. A., 1925-1927; S. Wilcox Stocker, Wesley F. Swift, 1928; Alfred E. Whitham, Wesley F. Swift, Erastus Evans, M. A., 1929.

Mission.-

George Jackson, B. A., 1888-1892; George Jackson, B. A., Ernest Aldom French, 1893-1897; George Jackson, B. A., Ernest Aldom French, Thomas W. Jamieson, 1898; George Jackson, B. A., Thomas W. Jamieson, John Billington, 1899; George Jackson, B. A., Ebenezer J. Ives, John Billington, 1900-1902; George Jackson, B. A., Andrew B. Holliday, John R. Robinson, 1903-1904; George Jackson, B. A., William Bateson, Frank C. Beecher, 1905; Frederick H. Benson, B. A., William Bateson, Frank C. Beecher, 1906; Frederick H. Benson, B. A., Boardman M'Clellan, George H. Charnley, 1907-1908; Frederick H. Benson, B. A., Joseph Mace, George H.

Edinburgh cont'd.-

Charnley, 1909; Frederick H. Benson, B. A., Joseph Mace, Fred James, 1910-1912; Alfred J. G. Seaton, B. D., Jonathan Brown, Fred James, 1913; Alfred J. G. Seaton, B. D., Jonathan Brown, J. Simpson Lee, 1914-1915; Alfred J. G. Seaton, B. D., Frederic A. Tomlinson, J. Simpson Lee, 1916; Alfred J. G. Seaton, B. D., Frederic A. Tomlinson, 1917-1918; Alfred J. G. Seaton, B. D., Robert H. Hingley, B. A., 1919; Wilfrid L. Hannam, B. D., Robert H. Hingley, B. A., Ernest Jones, 1920; Wilfrid L. Hannam, B. D., Robert H. Hingley, B. A., J. Brazier Green, B. A., 1921-1922; Wilfrid L. Hannam, B. D., Louis P. Porri, J. Brazier Green, B. A., A. Simpson Leck, 1923; Wilfrid L. Hannam, B. D., Louis P. Porri, A. Simpson Leck, George E. Grieve, B. A. B. Sc., 1924; Howard Watkin-Jones, M. A., B. D., Louis P. Porri, Ernest H. Lawrence, George E. Grieve, B. A., B. Sc., 1925; Howard Watkin-Jones, M. A., B. D., William Grieve, Eric Parson, B. A., Robert Watkin-Jones, Sup., 1926-1927; S. Wilcox Stocker, William Grieve, Eric Parsons, B. A., 1928; A. Gordon James, 1929.

Leith.-

John Leathley, 1892-1893; George Gibson, 1894-1896; Frederick Elton, 1897-1899; James A. D. J. MacDonald, 1900; J. Conder Natrass, B. A., B. D., 1901-1903; John Mee, 1904-1906; Arthur W. Bunnett, M. A., 1907-1909; Arthur W. Cooke, M. A., 1910-1912; Thomas A. Lindsay, 1913-1915; Jonathan W. Brown, 1916-1921; George H. Thompson, 1922-1924; William Parkinson, 1925; C. Alexander Duthie, 1926-1928; Walter A. Headey, 1929.

ELGIN.-

Alexander Bell, 1814-1815; Thomas Mollard, 1816; James Shoar, 1817-1818; John M'OWan, 1819-1829; Alexander Strachan, 1821; Joseph Armstrong, 1822. (With Banff 1823.)

FALKIRK MISSION.-

John Mee, 1896-1898; Thomas Heppell, 1899; Thomas W. Jamieson, 1900-1903; Seth Swithenbank, 1904-1905.

FALKIRK AND WALLACESTONE.-

Seth Swithenbank, J. Ranshall Rowe, 1906; G. Evans Watson, W. Procter Robertson, B. D., 1907-1909; Sydney Smith, Bertram Richardson, 1910.

FALKIRK, WALLACESTONE AND STIRLING.-

Sydney Smith, W. Proctor Robertson, B. D., Bertram Richardson, 1911-1912; Joseph H. Armstrong, W. Proctor Robertson, B. D., R. J. Anglin Johnson, 1913; Joseph H. Armstrong, Thomas W. Foinette, R. J. Anglin Johnson, 1914-1915; T. E. Barron Renton, Thomas W. Foinette, J. Lewis Crawford, 1916; T. E. Barron Renton, J. Lewis Crawford, 1917-1918; T. E. Barron Renton, J. Lewis Crawford, H. Bemrose Spencer, 1919-1920; John Matthewman, Henry J. Foss, H. Bemrose Spencer, 1921; John Matthewman, Henry J. Foss, Albert Hutchinson, B. A., 1922-1923; F. Leonard Hines, Walter Bradshaw, Albert Hutchinson, B. A., 1924; F. Leonard Hines, Albert Dickinson, Walter Bradshaw, 1925.

FALKIRK.-

F. Leonard Hines, 1926; J. Hartley Thompson, 1927-1929.

GIRVAN.-

Richard H. Higson, 1919-1922; Arthur B. Cannon, 1923-1925; Frederick J. Brewer, George Gibson, Sup., 1926-1928; C. Alexander Duthie, George Gibson, Sup., 1929.

GLASGOW.-(1)

Thomas Taylor, 1765; James Brownfield, 1766; John Atlay, 1767-1768; William Thompson, 1769; Thomas Simpson, Alexander M'Nab, 1770; (Joined to Edinburgh 1771-1788.) Richard Watkinson, James Bogie, Zechariah Yewdall, 1789; William Hunter, James Bogie, John Braithwaite, 1790; Robert Johnson, Joseph Cross, Robert Harrison, 1791; (Ayr Circuit re-formed 1792.) Henry Taylor, 1792; Matthew Lumb, 1793-1794; John Townsend, John Doncaster, 1795; Thomas Warwick, John Townsend, 1796; John Townsend, 1797; John Braithwaite, 1798-1799; Duncan M'Allum, 1800; Thomas Ingham, 1801; Duncan M'Allum, 1802; Robert Newton, William Timperley, John Fisher, 1803; William West, David M'Nicholl, 1804;

(1) Thomas Taylor was the first preacher to labour in Glasgow, although Wesley had previously visited in that city and had brought some folks together in a Society in 1757. Journal of Wesley, Appendix A, p. 6. Taylor arrived in 1765 and there was no Society there at that time. He organized the work and Glasgow Methodism usually dates its beginnings from the arrival of Taylor. See Jackson's Lives of the Methodist Preachers, vol. V., pp. 27 ff.

Glasgow cont'd.-

William West, George Thompson, 1805; William Atherton, George Thompson, Edward Green, 1806; William Atherton, William Naylor, James Lowry, 1807; Jonathan Brown, sen., William Naylor, Joseph Brittain, 1808; (Ayr Circuit re-formed 1809.) Michael Emmett, James Sykes, 1809; Michael Emmett, John Hughes, James Sykes, 1810; Valentine Ward, John James, George Willoughby, 1811; Valentine Ward, John James, Samuel Blackburn, John Gaskell, 1812; Valentine Ward, John James, Robert Nicholson, John Gaskell, 1813; John Lancaster, Charles Burton, Robert Nicholson, Thomas Bridgman, 1814; John Lancaster, Samuel Warren, George Sykes, jun., 1815; Samuel Warren, Alexander Bell, Thomas Moss, 1816; Samuel Warren, Joseph Kitchin, Alexander Bell, Thomas Moss, 1817; John Burdsall, John Rawson, Alexander Bell, Robert Harrison, jun., 1818; John Burdsall, Thomas Mollard, George Cubitt, Joseph E. Beaumont, 1819; (Paisley united with Greenock 1820.) Valentine Ward, Thomas Mollard, 1820; Valentine Ward, Joseph Agar, William Ververs, 1821-1822; Edmund Grindrod, William Ververs, 1823; Edmund Grindrod, John Nowell, Thomas Armson, 1824; John Hobson, John Nowell, Francis Neal, 1825-1826; Valentine Ward, Thomas Davies, Henry Hickman, 1827; Valentine Ward, William Bythway, John M'Lean, 1828; Thomas Bridgman, Edward Walker, 1829; Thomas Bridgman, Edward Walker, William L. Thornton, 1830; Thomas Bridgman, Richard Rymer, John Bedford, 1831; William Constable, William Illingworth, Robert Dugdale, 1832; (Greenock re-united 1833-1844.) William Constable, Peter M'Owan, William Illingworth, Henry H. Chettle, 1833; William Constable, Peter M'Owan, Henry H. Chettle, James Mitchell, 1834; William France, Robert Thompson, Henry H. Chettle, John Talbot, 1835; William France, John Garrett, Thomas Rogerson, John Talbot, 1836; William France, Daniel S. Tatham, Ellis Hall, Benjamin John, 1837; Robert Day, Daniel S. Tatham, Ellis Hall, Benjamin John, 1838; Robert Day, Daniel S. Tatham, Joseph Hudson, Henry Hastling, 1839; Robert Day, John Simon, Henry Hastling, Thomas Williams, 1840; Robert Heys, John Simon, Thomas Williams, Alexander M'Aulay, 1841-1842; Robert Heys, John Stirzaker, James G. Wilson, 1843; Peter Duncan, John Drake, John Stirzaker, 1844; (Airdrie and Stirling Circuit formed 1845.) Peter Duncan, John Stirzaker, 1845; Peter Duncan, William H. Cornforth, 1846; Roger Moore, Thomas R. Jones, 1847; Roger Moore, William Exton, 1848; John P. Hetherington, John Hannah, 1849; John P. Hetherington, William Hales, 1850.

Glasgow-West.-

John P. Hetherington, George Stewart, William Allen, 1851; Jacob Stanley, George Stewart, William Allen, 1852; Jacob Stanley, William Allen, 1853; Jacob Stanley, Theophilus

Glasgow cont'd.

John Hay

Talbôt, 1854; Thomas Moss, Joshua Mason, 1855-1857; ^ John C. George, 1858; John Hay, Edward J. Robinson, 1859; (Dumbarton Circuit formed 1860.) John Hay, Edward J. Robinson, 1860; John Lambert, Edward J. Robinson, 1861; John Lambert, 1862; John Lambert, William Ainsworth, 1863; Edward A. Telfer, William Ainsworth, 1864; Edward A. Telfer, George Kennedy, 1865-1866.

John Street.-

William Wilson, George Kennedy, 1867; William Wilson, Joseph B. Alger, 1868; William Wilson, James P. Keeley, 1869; Edward A. Telfer, James P. Keeley, 1870-1871; George Scott, D. D., James Cuthbertson, 1872; George Scott, D. D., James Cuthbertson, James H. Pawlyn, 1873; James Cuthbertson, John Stevinson, 1874; William Mearns, M. A., William J. Frankland, 1875; William Mearns, M. A., Thomas Inglis Walsh, 1876-1877; Thomas Inglis Walsh, 1878; John Shaw Banks, 1879; Thomas Broadbent, 1880-1881.

St. John's.-

James H. Cummings, 1882-1884; W. Gluyas Pascoe, 1885-1887; William J. Dawson, 1888; William J. Dawson, William Kelson, 1889-1890; Isaiah Parker, John Albert Dixon, 1891-1892; Isaiah Parker, Thomas J. Hillary, 1893; T. Hardwick Mawson, Thomas J. Hillary, 1894; T. Hardwick Mawson, William Bruce, 1895-1896; J. Williams Butcher, William Bruce, 1897; J. Williams Butcher, Percy J. Grubb, 1898-1899; George Hammond, Sidney B. Gregory, B. A., 1900-1901; George Hammond, Cecil M. Weeks, 1902; Arthur W. Cooke, M. A., Cecil M. Weeks, 1903-1904; Arthur W. Cooke, M. A., Wilbert F. Howard, 1905; Richard W. Watson, Wilbert F. Howard, 1906; Richard W. Watson, Joseph Bonsall, 1907; Richard W. Watson, S. Ernest Coley, M. A., 1908-1910; Frederick Green, Frank Ellis, 1911; J. Napier Milne, Frank Ellis, 1912-1914; W. Newman James, Joseph Coombs, 1915-1917; W. Newman James, 1918; W. Newman James, Frederick W. Wilson, 1919-1920; W. Newman James, Cecil H. Rose, 1921-1923; W. Newman James, Ernest Brown, 1924-1926; Herbert H. Clegg, Harold J. Rigby, B. A., 1927; Herbert H. Clegg, 1928-1929.

Glasgow-East.-

John Drake, William Hales, 1851; John Drake, 1852-1853; William A. Quick, 1854; John Hay, 1855-1857; Samuel Walker, 1858; Robert Newstead, 1859-1860; William Mearns, M. A., 1861-1863; William Willan, 1864.

Glasgow cont'd.-

St. Thomas's.-

Henry W. Holland, 1865-1867; William H. Cave, 1868-1870; Arthur Wilkinson, 1871-1873; Jabez Marrat, 1874-1876; Samuel Dalzell, 1877-1879; Edward Burton, 1880-1881; W. Woodward Spencer, 1882-1884; John Leathley, 1885-1887; Thomas W. Beck, 1888-1890; George Adcock, 1891-1893; T. Brain Castle, 1894-1896; H. Harrison Gower, 1897-1899; Samuel W. Stocker, 1900-1902; Walter E. Rees, 1903-1905; John Charles Jowett, 1906-1908; Henry C. J. Sidnell, B. A., B. D., 1909-1911; Francis J. Gould, 1912-1914; Henry Buckley, 1915-1918; Herbert J. Reynolds, 1919-1921; Robert Cowan, 1922-1924; Frederick E. Watson, 1925-1927; S. Wilcox Stocker, 1928; Thomas J. Evans, B. A., B. D. 1929.

Glasgow-South.-

William Maltby, 1862-1864; Henry J. Pope, 1865.

Cathcart Road.-

Henry J. Pope, John Smith, 1866-1867; William Maltby, Joseph R. Hewitson, 1868-1869; William Maltby, William B. Lowther, 1870; William D. Barton, Forster Crozier, 1871-1873; William Barrowclough, 1874-1875; Henry F. Kelvey, 1876; 1878; Walter Briscoe, 1879-1881; Joseph Robinson, 1882-1884; Benjamin Dodd, 1885-1887; David Jones, 1888-1890; William Ludlow, 1891-1893; Frederick Hilton, 1894-1896; James Fieldhouse, 1897-1899; Thomas Rae, 1900-1902; Samuel W. Stocker, 1903-1905; J. Williams Butcher, W. Proctor Robertson, 1906; John Elsworth, 1907-1909; Edward J. Simons, 1910-1912; Wilson Stuart, M. A., B. Sc., 1913-1915; Walter Platt, 1916-1919; Frederick W. Welbon, M. C., 1920-1925; Thomas J. Evans, B. A., B. D., 1926-1928; Joseph Mace, 1929.

Claremont Street.-

Giffard Dorey, 1868-1869; John F. Moody, 1870-1872; James A. MacDonald, 1873-1875; John V. B. Shrewsbury, 1876; John V. B. Shrewsbury, James Jackson, 1877; John V. B. Shrewsbury, James Todd, 1878; Benjamin Broadley, James Todd, 1879-1880; Benjamin Broadley, William Hothersall, 1881; W. Gluyas Pascoe, William Hothersall, 1882-1883; W. Gluyas Pascoe, James R. Sharpley, 1884; William H. Groves, M. A., James R. Sharpley, 1885-1886; William H. Groves, M. A., William Arthur Labrum, Samuel Chadwick, 1887; Benjamin Dodd, William Arthur Labrum, Samuel Chadwick, 1888-1889; Benjamin Dodd, Sidney Pitt, Ralph Philipson, 1890; Edward J. Brailsford, Sidney Pitt, Ralph Philipson, 1891-

Glasgow cont'd.-

1892; Edward J. Brailsford, Thomas Rathmell, J. Forster Holdsworth, 1893; Thomas Brighthouse, Thomas Rathmell, J. Forster Holdsworth, 1894-1895; Thomas Brighthouse, John Carter, Frederick Inwood, 1896; George Gibson, John Carter, Frederick Inwood, 1897-1898; George Gibson, William Johnson, John Bennetts, 1899; J. Williams Butcher, William Johnson, John Bennetts, 1900-1901; J. Williams Butcher, W. Thompson Derry, B. A., J. Stainer Wilkinson, 1902; J. Havelock Thompson, W. Thompson Derry, B. A., J. Stainer Wilkinson, 1903-1904; J. Havelock Thompson, C. Adie Pollard, J. Sutcliffe Allen, Ebenezer H. Morgan, W. Routledge Bailey, 1905; William Henry Gibbs, C. Adie Pollard, J. Sutcliffe Allen, Ebenezer H. Morgan, John H. Kent, 1906-1907; William Henry Gibbs, W. H. Oliver Lake, Arthur Adlington, Sidney E. Beaugie, M. A., John H. Kent, 1908; S. Wilcox Stocker, W. H. Oliver Lake, Arthur Adlington, Sidney E. Beaugie, M. A., J. Sidney Hobson, 1909-1910; S. Wilcox Stocker, Albert E. Warr, Herbert E. Gawden, W. Sedden Cooper, 1911; S. Wilcox Stocker, Albert E. Warr, Herbert E. Gawden, 1912-1913; John J. Leedal, Arthur Ward, W. Proctor Robertson, B. D., 1914-1917; John J. Leedal, Arthur Ward, Wilfrid H. Boocock, 1918; J. Forster Holdsworth, Joseph Mace, Wilfrid H. Boocock, 1919-1920; Joseph Mace, Harry A. Hindle, Frank Rowley, 1921-1922; Joseph Mace, Charles A. Green, Frank Rowley, Alfred Easton, 1923; Richard W. Charlesworth, R. H. Anderson Routledge, William T. Tilsley, Alfred Easton, 1924-1925; Richard W. Charlesworth, R. H. Anderson Routledge, William T. Tilsley, H. Crowson Muncey, 1926; Ernest W. Trounson, Elphin A. Ellis, H. Crowson Muncey, 1927; Sidney E. Beaugie, M. A., Benjamin Barker, Elphin A. Ellis, H. Crowson Muncey, 1928; Sidney A. Beaugie, M. A., Benjamin Barker, Reginald Glanville, E. Omar Pearson, Sup., 1929.

Paisley Road.-

David Solomon, 1874-1876; John Kinnings, 1877-1879; James Lewis, 1880-1882; Thomas Lawson, John Hall, 1883; Thomas Lawson, C. Wilfrid Cook, 1884; Thomas Lawson, Joseph Robinson, 1885; John J. Twells, Joseph Robinson, 1886-1887; John J. Twells, John Leathley, 1888; John Leathley, Benjamin Bean, 1889-1890; Charles O. Eldridge, B. A., Benjamin Bean, 1891; Charles O. Eldridge, B. A., J. Uttley Helliwell, 1892-1893; George Smith, J. Uttley Helliwell, 1894; George Smith, Albert Dickinson, 1895-1896; Richard Smith, Albert Dickinson, 1897; Richard Smith, Walter E. Fletcher, J. Colliver Williams, 1898-1899; Rutland Spooner, Walter E. Fletcher, Breenes Miller, 1900; Rutland Spooner, Frank Jones, John Webster, 1901; Rutland Spooner, Frank Jones, 1902; J. Williams Butcher, Frank Jones, 1903;

Glasgow cont'd.-

J. Williams Butcher, W. Dawson Watson, 1904; J. Williams Butcher, W. Dawson Watson, Joseph Maco, 1905; S. Wilcox Stocker, W. Dawson Watson, 1906; S. Wilcox Stocker, Frank C. Beecher, Lewis A. Brown, 1907; S. Wilcox Stocker, Frank C. Beecher, 1908; William Kelson, Frank C. Beecher, 1909; William Kelson, W. Seddon Cooper, 1910; William Kelson, Leslie V. Jolly, 1911; J. Henry Hocken, 1912-1914; H. Herbert Ashby, 1915-1918; George S. Burden, 1919-1921; Bernard T. Smith, 1922-1924; S. Wilcox Stocker, 1925; Bernard T. Smith, 1926-1927; W. Benjamin Charles, 1928-1929.

Raglan Street.-

Joseph B. Alger, 1878-1880; James R. Sharpley, 1881-1883; W. Scott Page, 1884-1886; John Wilson, 1887-1889.

North-West Mission.-

James Thomas East, 1890-1892; T. Mercom Taylor, B. A., 1893-1905; W. Marshall Johnson, 1906-1909; J. Forster Holdsworth, 1910-1916; Frederick J. Mann, 1917-1920; H. Taylor Cape, 1921-1923; S. Wilcox Stocker, 1924; Henry High, 1925-1927; (Changed to Central Mission 1927.) S. Wilcox Stocker, 1928; Henry High, 1929.

East Mission.-

C. Garrett Udy, 1909-1913; William A. Harrison, 1914-1917; S. Wilcox Stocker, 1918; Walter J. Bull, 1919-1923; A Stanley Parker, 1924-1926; Richard W. Charlesworth, 1927-1929.

GREENOCK.-

Robert Dall, 1793; John Doncaster, 1794; (With Glasgow 1795-1810.) Joshua Bryan, 1811; Joshua Bryan, Thomas Bridgman, 1812; Richard Smetham, Nathaniel Elliott, 1813; Richard Smetham, James Smetham, 1814; Abraham Crabtree, James Smetham, 1815; Abraham Crabtree, George Sykes, jun., 1816; James Miller, Peter M'Owan, 1817; Thomas Hewitt, Timothy Ingle, 1818; Thomas Hewitt, Alexander Strachan, 1819; Joseph Lewis, Donald Frazer, 1820; Joseph Lewis, Francis Neal, Arthur G. Jewett, 1821; Joseph Robbins, Francis Neal, John Worrell, 1822; Duncan M'Allum, Joseph Wormersley, John Worrell, 1823; Thomas Stephenson, John Hick, 1824; George Marsland, Robert Totherick, 1825; George Marsland, George Turner, 1826; Joseph Jackson, George Isles, 1827; Joseph Jackson, 1828; John Burgess,

Greenock cont'd.-

1829-1830; John Heape, 1831-1832; (With Glasgow 1833-1842.) William Willan, 1843-1844; Thomas B. Goodwin, 1845-1846; Benjamin Frankland, jun., B. A., 1847-1848; William Mearns, M. A., 1849; Samuel M'Aulay, 1850; Richard Hart, 1851; Thomas T. Dilks, 1852-1854; Thomas L. Parker, 1855-1857; Thomas Barr, 1858; George H. Chambers, 1859; Isaac Gould, 1860-1862; Thomas P. Allen, 1863; John Burgess, 1864; T. Inglis Walsh, 1865-1866; Winterley Crouch, 1867-1868; Joseph Cranswick, 1869-1871; Samuel Abell, 1872; George M. Colledge, 1873-1874; James Bolton, 1875-1877; Joseph Bacon, 1878-1880; Charles J. Preston, 1881-1883; Edward J. Brailsford, 1884; Walter P. Johns, 1885; H. Lefroy Yorke, B. A., 1886-1888; Thomas G. Selby, 1889-1891; Jabez Marrat, 1892-1894; Herbert J. Sugden, 1895-1897; S. Bingham Beattie, 1898-1901; J. Sutcliffe Allen, 1902-1904; J. Walthew Simister, 1905-1907; Edward H. Simpson, 1908-1910; Benjamin Stanley, 1911-1913; John T. Waddy, B. A., 1914-1917; Sidney A. Beaugie, M. A., 1918-1922; H. Granville Morley, 1923-1925; J. Simpson Lee, 1926-1928; S. Wilcox Stocker, 1929.

INVERNESS.-

Duncan M'Allum, Jasper Robinson, 1779; John Watson, jun., George Mowatt, 1780; (Re-united to Aberdeen 1781-1783.) Robert Johnson, Matthew Lumb, 1784; Thomas Bartholomew, Matthew Lumb, 1785; Joshua Keighley, Thomas Bartholomew, Edward Burbeck, 1786; Duncan M'Allum, John Crowther, Robert Harrison, 1787; Duncan M'Allum, John Barritt, Robert Harrison, 1788; John Barber, Samuel Botts, Joseph Cross, Jonathan Thompson, 1789; John Barber, Thomas Harrison, James Anderson, John Saunderson, 1790; Duncan M'Allum, James Anderson, John Doncaster, 1791; John Saunderson, John Doncaster, Alexander Cummins, Stephen Eversfield, 1792; Joseph Cross, George Douglas, Patrick Kelley, Thomas Ingham, 1793; (Banff Circuit formed 1794.) Duncan M'Allum, George Douglas, 1794; Duncan M'Allum, William Fenwick, Richard Thompson, 1795-1796; Duncan M'Allum, Richard Waddy, John Vipond, James Thom, 1797; (Re-united to Aberdeen 1798-1799.) Arthur Hutchinson, Thomas Wilton, 1800; John Phillips, William Gilpin, 1801; John Phillips, William Beswick, John Fisher, 1802; William Welbourne, William Beswick, George Thompson, 1803; William Timperley, John Fairbourne, William Scholefield, 1804; Joseph Kitchin, James Sykes, Jonathan Brown, jun., 1805; Joseph Meek, James Sykes, William Harrison, jun., 1806; Samuel Kittle, William Tranter, Samuel Ward, 1807; Robert Melson, Samuel Ward, Hugh M'Kay, 1808; (Banff Circuit re-formed 1809.) Robert Melson, 1809; Joshua Bryan, 1810; Benjamin Hudson,

Inverness cont'd.-

1811-1812; Edward Wilson, 1813; George Willoughby, 1814-1815; Robert Harrison, sen., 1816-1817; James Sugden, 1818-1819; Joseph Robbins, 1820-1821; John Haigh, 1822; Joseph Armstrong, 1823; Richard Tabraham, 1824; Charles L. Adshead, 1825-1826; Richard Allen, 1827; William Langridge, 1828-1829; Henry Wilkinson, 1830-1831; Andrew Mackintosh, 1832-1833; Josiah Hudson, 1834-1835; George Poole, 1836; Joseph Pascall, 1837-1838; James Pilley, 1839-1840; Samuel Hookey, 1841-1842; John Simon, 1843-1844; Henry Hastling, 1845-1846; Nicholas C. Pridham, 1847; Edmund B. Warters, 1848-1850; David Edgar, 1851; John T. Barr, 1852; Uriah Butters, 1853; George Smith, 1854-1855; Charles E. Woolmer, 1856; Joseph Dyson, 1857; Thomas L. Parker, 1858-1860; Charles Bingant, 1861-1862; John Drake, 1863-1865; Edward A. Wain, 1866-1868; John Drake, 1869-1871; Joseph Howard, 1872-1874; George Southall, 1875-1876; John H. Corson, 1877-1879; Crawshaw Hargreaves, 1880-1882; Benjamin E. Hawkins, 1883-1885; Martin Luther Camburn, 1886-1888; George Terry, B. A., 1889-1891; Arthur Hoyle, 1892-1895; John A. B. Malvern, 1896; T. Lawry Withington, 1897-1899; William H. Groves, M. A., 1900-1902; Arthur Reeve, 1903-1905; H. Howard May, 1906-1909; Thomas A. Lindsay, 1910-1912; Joseph Mace, 1913-1918; Daniel Kedward, 1919-1922; Donald Stuart, 1923; Donald Stuart, H. Howard May, Sup., 1924-1925; S. Wilcox Stocker, H. Howard May, Sup., 1926; Harry Mortimer, H. Howard May, Sup., 1927; Donald G. Brook, M. C., H. Howard May, Sup., 1928; Donald G. Brook, M. C., Robert Mandale, Sup., H. Howard May, Sup., 1929.

KILSYTH.-

Samuel Millet, 1871; George Hack, 1872-1874; T. Alexander Seed, 1875-1877; George Parker, 1878-1879; Thomas Lawson, 1880-1882; William S. Tomlinson, 1883-1884; William Millican, 1885; William Earl, 1886-1888; William Talbot, 1889-1891; William H. Johnson, 1892-1894; Thomas J. Price, 1895-1897; Samuel R. Wilkins, 1898-1900; John Mee, 1901-1903; J. Penrose Hodgson, 1904-1906; R. Ernest Little, 1907-1909; W. Brook Hirst, 1910-1912; Arthur Grime, 1913-1915; John Day, 1916-1918; John Matthewman, 1919-1920; Harry Kenyon, 1921-1923; Arthur A. Fuller, B. A., 1924-1926; Charles E. Cook, 1927-1929.

LEITH.-

Robert H. Barritt, 1864-1865; Thomas W. Blanshard, 1866-1868; Samuel Abell, 1869-1871; Frederick Barber, 1872-

Leith cont'd.-

1874; George Hack, 1875-1877; Samuel T. Bosward, B. A., 1878-1879; William H. Farnell, 1880-1881; Frederick Elton, 1882-1884; Henry S. B. Yates, 1885-1887; George Gibson, 1888-1890; John Leathley, 1891.

MONTROSE.-

George Dyer, 1889-1890; Robert B. Nightingale, B. A., 1891-1893; William Kelson, 1894-1896; Benjamin Robinson, 1897-1899; William Rex, 1900-1902; E. Sayer Ellis, 1903-1905; Joseph Mace, 1906-1908. (United to Blairgowrie 1909.)

NORTH OF SCOTLAND MISSION.-

Thomas Riley, Robert H. A. Morton, Ernest J. How, Samuel F. Pawson, 1901; Thomas Riley, George H. Ryves, Joseph Mace, Allen Holt, 1902; Thomas Riley, George H. Ryves, Joseph Mace, J. Frederick Etchells, 1903; Lewis Thomas, George H. Ryves, Joseph Mace, William Bateson, 1904; Arthur Hoyle, Amos Emmott, George H. Ryves, William J. Hartley, J. Hartley Thompson, Richard J. Benney, 1905; Arthur Hoyle, Amos Emmott, A. Rodwell Choate, Frederick A. Keyworth, J. Hartley Thompson, Thomas Pickard, 1906; Arthur Hoyle, Amos Emmott, A. Rodwell Choate, Frederick A. Keyworth, John W. Mountford, James H. Martin, 1907; Arthur Hoyle, J. Bicknor Edwards, F. Chenhalls Williams, John W. Mountford, Archibald J. Marchant, Daniel Kedward, 1908; Arthur Hoyle, W. Dyson Frater, J. Bicknor Edwards, John W. Mountford, Archibald J. Marchant, Ernest O. Lane, 1909; Arthur Hoyle, W. Dyson Frater, John Haslam, John W. Mountford, Archibald J. Marchant, Ernest O. Lane, 1910; John J. Leedal, W. Dyson Frater, John Haslam, Leger Clough, Ernest O. Lane, Donald Stuart 1911; John J. Leedal, Thomas W. Foinette, John Haslam, R. J. Anglin Johnson, Daniel Kedward, 1912; John J. Leedal, Thomas W. Foinette, J. Whitaker Bond, Daniel Kedward, Harvey Cowle, H. Gordon Sellers, 1913; F. Warburton Lewis, B. A., J. Whitaker Bond, Albert H. Smith, Daniel Kedward, Harvey Cowle, H. Gordon Sellers, 1914; F. Warburton Lewis, M. A., Albert H. Smith, Daniel Kedward, H. Gordon Sellers, C. Povah Bardsley, Frederick W. Wilson, 1915; F. Warburton Lewis, M. A., Albert H. Smith, Daniel Kedward, C. Povah Bardsley, Frederick Wilson, 1916; F. Warburton Lewis, M. A., Daniel Kedward, Frank Rowley, C. Povah Bardsley, Frederick W. Wilson, 1917; Charles F. Hunter, B. A., Daniel Kedward, Frank Rowley, Frederick W. Wilson, 1918; Charles F. Hunter, B. A., John Haslam, Frank Rowley, N. Courtney James Albert V. L. Powell, 1919; Charles F. Hunter B. A., John Haslam, Frank Rowley, Arthur

North of Scotland Mission cont'd.-

B. Cannon, G. Arnold West, Roland Holt, 1920; Charles F. Hunter, B. A., John Haslam, George Walker, Arthur B. Cannon, James W. Sawyer, Alfred Easton, 1921; J. Edwin Dixon, Albert Dickinson, John Haslam, Arthur B. Cannon, Alfred Easton, James W. Sawyer, 1922; J. Edwin Dixon, Albert Dickinson, Peter T. Hutchinson, Ernest Brown, Harold Champion, Harold E. Price, 1923; Ernest J. Tounson, Albert Dickinson, Charles Caro, Samuel Thomas, William Thompson, Bert Wright, 1924; Ernest W. Tounson, Charles Caro, G. Elliott Lee, Samuel Thomas, Wesley F. Swift, John R. Reid, Thomas E. Lee, 1925; Ernest W. Tounson, G. Elliott Lee, Charles Caro, Wesley F. Swift, John R. Reid, W. Ernest Smith, Vernon C. Cowell, 1926; Vincent Taylor, D. D., Ph. D., G. Elliott Lee, Fred Platt, Wesley F. Swift, John R. Reid, W. Ernest Smith, Reginald J. Hughes, 1927; Vincent Taylor, D. D., Ph. D., Fred Platt, Stanley R. Hayward, M. A., Reginald J. Hughes, Harold Latimer, Sydney Darby, 1928; Vincent Taylor, D. D., Ph. D., Fred Platt, Stanley R. Hayward, M. A., John R. Reid, Reginald J. Hughes, Sidney Sargeant, 1929.

PAISLEY MISSION.-

William H. Rolls, 1902-1909; Walter Spencer, 1910-1914; Thomas Proudlove, 1915-1919; Noel F. Hutchcroft, 1920-1925; Cecil D. Eades, 1926; Cecil D. Eades, Frederick J. Briscoe, Sup., 1927; Cecil D. Eades, Harold J. Rigby, B. A., Frederick J. Briscoe, Sup., 1928; S. Wilcox Stocker, Harold J. Rigby, B. A., Frederick J. Briscoe, 1929.

PERTH.-

Duncan M'Allum, 1809; James Lowry, 1810; Edward Wilson, 1811; John Kemp, 1812; William Clegg, Thomas Bridgman, 1813; William Clegg, Richard Heape, 1814-1815; William West, Thomas Bridgman, 1816; Thomas Bridgman, Timothy C. Ingle, 1817; Thomas Bridgman, 1818; Thomas Harmer, 1819-1820; Donald Frazer, 1821-1822; Richard Mole, 1823-1824; Henry Davies, 1825; (Dundee and Perth Circuit 1826-1829.) Robert Thompson, 1830-1831; Edward Nye, Daniel Shoebottom, 1833-1834; Robert Totherick, 1835-1836; John Killick, 1837; Joseph Moorhouse, 1838-1839; Joseph Marsh, 1840; Joseph Sykes, 1841; Joseph Akrill, 1842-1844; George T. Perks, 1845-1846; Edmund B. Warters, 1847; Edward Shelton, 1848-1849; John C. George, 1850-1852; John Mearns, 1853-1854; Jabez Palmer, 1855-1857; Thomas Moss, 1858; Joseph, R. Cleminson, 1859-1860; John Burton, 1861-1863; Jonathan Henshall, 1864; Isaac Gould, 1865-1866; Thomas Inglis

Perth cont'd.-

Walsh, 1867-1869; Joseph Butters, 1870-1871; Henry Graham, 1872-1873; W. Wheatley Smith, 1874-1875; George Ingham, 1876-1878; William Talbot, 1879-1880; Richard J. Eland, 1881-1883; Joseph H. Hargreaves, 1884-1885; Benjamin Bean, 1886-1888; Francis Standfast, 1889-1890; William Reynolds, 1891-1892;.....

Perth Mission.-

Henry Barroughclough, 1893-1895; John Morton, 1896-1899; E. Sayer Ellis, 1900-1902; Arthur J. Summerfield, 1903-1905; P. Addison Devis, 1906-1908; J. Lewis Crawford, 1913-1915; E. Albert Evans, 1916-1918; John W. Faraday, 1919-1920; (Joined to Dundee 1921-1922.)

Perth.-

W. Burkitt Dalby, 1909-1911; Thomas Little, 1912; (Perth Mission 1913-1920.) (Joined to Dundee 1921-1922.) Harry Mortimer, 1923-1924; S. Wilcox Stocker, 1925; Harry Mortimer, 1926; Ernest G. Kneen, B. A., 1927-1929.

PETERHEAD.-

Thomas Mollard, 1817-1818; James Shoar, John W. Barritt, 1819-1820; Charles Adshead, William Robson, 1821-1822; John Hague, John Dickinson, 1823; William Flint, 1824; Joseph Forsyth, 1825; William Orson, 1826; Thomas Moxon, 1827; (With Aberdeen, 1828-1876.) J. Robinson Cleminson, 1877; W. Scott Page, 1878-1880; William Backhouse, 1881-1882; William H. Johnston, 1883-1884; Charles A. Booth, 1885-1887; Thomas Baron, 1888; Alexander Borrowman, 1889-1891; William H. Dale, 1892-1894; William Wallace, 1895-1897; Matthew Hall, 1898-1900. (North of Scotland Mission formed 1901.)

PORTESSIE.-

Samuel Hickmans, Thomas Bird, 1876-1877; William H. Farnell, Joseph Bell, 1878; William H. Farnell, William H. Coradine, 1879; George H. Chambers, William H. Coradine, 1880; John Irwin, William H. Coradine, 1881; William Barrowclough, Joseph W. Clucas, 1882; William Barrowclough, John W. Booth, 1883-1884; Arthur Reeve, John Edmund Lewis, 1885-1887; William Taggart, Albert Smith, 1888-1889; W. Beamish Saul, M. A., Albert Smith, 1890; W. Beamish Saul, M. A., William Kelson, 1891-1892; William Robinson, William Kelson, 1893; William Robinson, Alfred Barrowclough,

Portessie cont'd.-

1894; William Robinson, Arthur Gray, 1895; Samuel F. Balch, Arthur Gray, 1896; Samuel F. Balch, Joseph Short, 1897-1898; Robert H. A. Morton, Ernest J. How, 1899-1900. (United with North of Scotland Mission 1901.)

STIRLING AND DOUNE.-

Henry Dean, William Mearns, M. A., 1850; Henry Dean, 1851-1852; John C. George, 1853-1854; Matthew Giles, 1855-1857; Jabez Palmer, 1858-1860; Thomas L. Parker, 1861-1862; James Cuthbertson, 1863-1865; Major F. Peet, 1866-1868; George H. Chambers, 1869; T. Inglis Walsh, 1870-1872; Thomas H. Hill, 1873-1875; Jeremiah S. Shrewsbury, 1876-1878; John H. Hooper, 1879-1881; Thomas Cannell, 1882-1884; John Irwin, 1885-1887; William Barrowclough, 1888-1890; Walter Lang, 1891-1893; W. Henry Holmes, B. A., 1894-1895; William Robinson, 1896-1897; Sidney Harris, 1899-1901; Edward H. Simpson, 1902-1904; John Cartwright, 1905-1907; John Keddie, 1908-1910. (United with Falkirk and Wallacestone Circuit.)

STIRLING.-

Albert Dickinson, 1926-1927; S. Wilcox Stocker, 1928; Peter J. Robertson, 1929.

VALE OF LEVEN.- (Formerly Alexandria and Dumbarton Circuit.)

Thomas J. Price, John T. Salisbury, 1901; John Cartwright, John T. Salisbury, 1902-1903; John Cartwright, W. Routley Bailey, 1904. (Transferred to Claremont Street, Glasgow.)

WALLACESTONE.-

Edward Baylis, William Waters, 1869-1870; John Atkins, 1871; Alfred Sargent, 1873-1874; George M. Colledge, 1875; William Robinson, 1876; George Reid, 1877-1878; John E. Caine, 1879-1881; John Irwin, 1882-1884; Thomas W. Beck, 1885-1887;.....Walter Bradshaw, 1926; S. Wilcox Stocker, 1927; Walter Bradshaw, 1928; R. Coburn Kellie, 1929.

WALLACESTONE AND ARMADALE.-

Thomas W. Beck, Albert Smith, 1887; Arthur Reeve, Newark Featonby, 1888; Arthur Reeve, Ralph Philipson, 1889;

Wallacestone and Armadale cont'd.-

Arthur Reeve, Frederick Inwood, 1890; John James Ward, Frederick Inwood, 1891-1892; John James Ward, Peter J. Robertson, 1893; John P. Yates, Peter J. Robertson, 1894; John P. Yates, John James Quiggin, 1895; John P. Yates, Ernest S. Ellis, 1896; John T. Bennett, E. Sayer Ellis, 1897; John T. Bennett, William Henry Bunting, 1898; Samuel F. Balch, William Henry Bunting, 1899-1900; Samuel F. Balch, Frederick A. Keyworth, 1901; Samuel F. Balch, A. Umphray Moffatt, 1902; Richard J. Eland, George H. Bamford, 1903; J. Ranshall Rowe, W. Proctor Robertson, 1904-1905; (See Falkirk and Wallacestone.)

SHETLAND ISLES (1)

DUNROSSNESS.-

Charles J. Williams, 1855; John T. Duncan, 1856-1858; Charles Bingant, 1859-1860; Edward Baylis, 1861-1863; Robert Daw, 1864-1866; Bamford Burrows, 1867-1868; Alfred Beer, 1869; John C. Stuart, 1870; Stephen G. Scott, 1871-1873; James Bolton, 1874; John H. Henderson, 1875; William Evans, 1876. (United to Lerwick 1877.)

LERWICK.- (Shetland Isles Circuit 1822.)

John Raby, Samuel Dunn, 1822; (Yell Circuit formed 1823.) Samuel Dunn, 1823; (Walls and Northmavin Circuits formed 1824.) Samuel Dunn, William Wears, 1824; Joseph Lowthian, William Wears, 1825; John Lewis, Joseph Lowthian, 1826; John Lewis, James C. Hindson, 1827; Samuel Trueman, Robert Thwaites, 1828; Richard Tabraham, William Ricketts, 1829; Richard Tabraham, John Newton, jun., 1830-1831; James Catton, John Knowles, jun., 1832-1833; James Catton, Robinson Breare, 1834; George Clarke, Robinson Breare, 1835; George Clarke, Edwin J. Sturges, 1836; William

(1) A fine work was carried on in the Orkneys in the years 1836-1841 under the leadership of Dr. John Knowles, Thomas Collins, Joseph Pascall and others. It was given up, however, and the Free Church took over the task of supplying the spiritual needs of these islanders. Hall's Circuits and Ministers does not show the Orkney and Wick Circuit but the Minutes for the above years, and Coley's Life of Rev. Thomas Collins, give data. Beaton's Ecclesiastical History of Caithness gives an account of the work of Collins in and around Wick.

Lerwick cont'd.-

Wears, Joseph Binns, 1837; William Wears, Richard Petch, 1838; William Wears, Edward Baylis, 1839; William Webb, William Shepherd, 1840; William Webb, Charles B. Ritchie, 1841; John Imisson, Edward Stokes, 1842; Joseph Watson, Samuel Lucas, 1843; Joseph Watson, John Danks, William H. Lewis, Felix H. Pickworth, 1844-1845; James Kendall, William H. Lewis, Edward Shelton, Thomas Rigby, 1846; James Kendall, Edward Shelton, Thomas T. Dilks, William Foster, 1847; James Kendall, Daniel Farquhar, Thomas T. Dilks, William Foster, 1848; Thompson Hesk, Daniel Farquhar, Thomas T. Dilks, 1849; Thompson Hesk, Daniel Farquhar, William Parsonson, 1850; James Findlay, Benjamin N. Haworth, William Fern, 1851-1852; James Findlay, Benjamin N. Haworth, William Unsworth, 1853; William Parsonson, Charles J. Williams, 1854; (Dunrossness Circuit formed 1855.) William Parsonson, 1855-1856; Robert Haworth, 1857-1859; John T. Duncan, 1860-1861; George Clement, Joseph R. Hewitson, 1862-1863; Edward Baylis, Joseph R. Hewitson, 1864; Edward Baylis, George Reid, 1865-1866; Joseph Caley, 1867-1868; Joseph Caley, Robert Odery, 1869; George Hobson, James Drummond, 1870-1872; Thomas H. Horrell, William H. Farnell, 1873-1875; William W. Grigg, William Douglas, 1876; (Dunrossness re-united 1877.) William W. Grigg, William Douglas, 1877; William W. Grigg, Edward Omar Pearson, 1878-1879; William W. Grigg, John E. Halford, 1880-1881; John H. Hooper, John E. Halford, 1882; John H. Hooper, J. Edward Creasy, 1883; John H. Hooper, Henry C. Bassett, 1884; John Priestley, John Carter, 1885; John Priestley, Ralph Philipson, 1886-1887; Philip Callier, Ralph Philipson, 1888; Philip Callier, Frank Wesley Harrison, 1889-1890; George Dyer, Frank Wesley Harrison, 1891; James E. Hargreaves, William Bruce, 1892-1894; Thomas J. Macartney, Herbert Waterworth, 1895; Thomas J. Macartney, W. Ernest Easton, 1896; Henry T. Brumwell, John Joseph Leedal, 1897-1898; Henry T. Brumwell, Walter W. Cherry, 1899; Henry T. Brumwell, Alfred J. J. Watson, 1900; Joseph B. Alger, George Henry Marshall, 1901; Joseph B. Alger, Benjamin Barker, 1902; Joseph B. Alger, Thomas Fletcher, 1903; William L. Bennett, Arthur Phillips, 1904; William L. Bennett, Walter Sydney Weddell, 1905-1906; Richard Rossall, Joseph Henderson, 1907; Richard Rossall, Joseph Henderson, H. Donald Spencer, 1908; Richard Rossall, Joseph Henderson, Joseph Gleave, 1909; Frederick C. Wright, F. Ernest Watson, Francis S. Foss, 1910-1911; Frederick C. Wright, F. Ernest Watson, J. Elias Davies, 1912; William M. Cannell, B. A., W. Angelo Helm, J. Elias Davies, 1913; William M. Cannell, B. A., Peter T. Hutchison, George H. Barnard, 1914-1915; William M. Cannell, B. A., George H. Barnard, Stanley Thayer, 1916; J. Hartley Thompson, Stanley Thayer, Albert J. Short, 1917; J. Hartley Thompson, 1918-

Lerwick cont'd.-

1920; John Humphreys, 1921-1922; John Humphreys, Herbert A. Fewster, 1923; F. Luke Wiseman, B. A., Herbert A. Fewster, 1924; Herbert H. Minchin, Herbert A. Fewster, 1925; Herbert Minchin, C. Sydney Hunt, 1926; Herbert H. Minchin, J. Johnson Credland, 1927; John W. Lightley, M. A., B. D., D. Lit., John J. Credland, 1928; William Ackroyd, John J. Credland, 1929.

NORTH ISLES.-

(Yell Circuit to 1845.) John Raby, John Lewis, Samuel Thompson, 1823; (With Northmavin 1824.) James C. Hindson, 1825; James C. Hindson, Andrew Mackintosh, 1826; Andrew Mackintosh, Joseph Mortimer, 1827; John Bolam, Joseph Mortimer, 1828; John Bolam, Robert Thwaites, 1829-1830; Robert Mainwaring, Robert Thwaites, 1831; Robert Mainwaring, John Newton, jun., 1832; Robert Mainwaring, Robinson Breare, 1833; William Langridge, Edwin J. Sturges, 1834-1835; Samuel Beard, John Imisson, 1836; John Imisson, 1837; Edward Baylis, 1838; Richard Petch, 1839; Uriah Butters, 1840-1841; Samuel Bowman, 1842; George Hughes, 1843; James Kendall, 1844-1845; Samuel M'Aulay, 1846; William Parsonson, 1847-1849; William Fern, 1850; Whitfield Raw, 1851-1852; Jonathan Dent, 1853-1854; George P. Hester, 1855-1857; Edward Baylis, 1858-1860; Joseph Freeman, 1861-1862; James Johnson, 1863-1865; Richard Webb, 1866-1868; Thomas Gane, 1869; James A. Rimmer, 1870-1871; George Makin, 1872-1874; Peter Roberts, 1875; William H. Farnell, 1876-1877; Richard Evans, 1878-1880; John Fyfe Fergus, 1881-1883; George B. Glover, 1884-1886; William G. Dixon, 1887-1889; William E. Holburn, 1890-1892; Benjamin Stanley, 1893-1895; Ernest Ogden, 1896; William T. Haydon, 1897-1900; David B. Stothard, 1901-1902; Walter Lee, 1903-1905; Charles Caro, 1906-1908; G. Elliott Lee, 1909-1911; F. W. Potto Hicks, 1912-1914; William Ackroyd, 1915-1921; J. Rees Davies, 1922; Robert E. Brown, 1923-1924; Alan L. Whittard, 1925-1927; Bertram E. Woods, 1928-1929.

NORTHMAVIN AND DELTING.-

John Dickinson, 1824; William Langridge, 1825-1827; Andrew Mackintosh, 1828-1829; William Ricketts, 1830-1832; John Newton, jun., 1833; Joseph Binns, 1834; Richard Allen, 1835-1836; Edwin J. Sturges, 1837; John Imisson, 1838-1839; Edward Baylis, 1840-1841; Charles B. Ritchie, 1842-1843; Robert W. Broomfield, 1844-1845; John Danks, 1846; Samuel M'Aulay, 1847; Nicholas C. Pridham, 1848; Benjamin N. Haworth, 1849-1850; William Parsonson, 1851-1853; John T. Cuncan, 1854-1855; Charles J. Williams, 1856-1857;

Northmavin and Delting.-

William Sellers, 1858-1859; John F. Raw, 1860;
 R. Wilberforce Starr, 1861-1862; Alfred Beer, 1863; John
 D. Brash, 1864-1866; Robert Daw, 1867; George Hobson,
 1868-1869; Joseph Bacon, 1870-1872; John D. Clark, 1873-
 1875; George Parker, 1876-1877; William Taylor, 1878-1879;
 John Fyfe Fergus, 1880; Joseph W. Clucas, 1881; Walter
 Lang, 1882-1884; William Taggart, 1885-1887; G. Neal
 Willis, 1888-1890; Frederick G. T. Dent, 1891-1893; George
 E. Scott, 1894-1896; Archibald J. Andrews, 1897-1898;
 Ernest J. Padfield, 1899-1900; Joseph H. Thompson, 1901-
 1902; William Hopper, 1903; Thomas Biltcliffe, 1904-1906;
 Thomas H. Cullen, 1907-1909; J. Whitaker Bond, 1910-1912;
 Ernest O. Lane, 1913-1914; Wilfrid L. Malins, 1915-1918.

NORTH ROE.-

Wilfrid L. Malins, 1917-1918; J. Ernest Matthews, 1919-
 1921; William G. Jones, 1922-1924; B. Hedd Owen, 1925;
 William G. Carty, 1926-1928; Alfred W. Cushion, 1929.

WALLS.-

John Lewis, 1824-1825; William Wears, 1826-1827; John
 Stephenson, 1828-1830; John Bolam, 1831; Daniel
 Shoebottom, 1832; Richard Allen, 1833-1834; Joseph Binns,
 1835-1836; George Clarke, 1837-1838; William Webb, 1839;
 John Imisson, 1840-1841; Joseph T. Wilkinson, 1842; Edward
 Stokes, 1843-1844; Alfred F. Abbott, 1845; Joseph Watson,
 1846; Thompson Hesk, 1847-1848; James Findlay, 1849-1850;
 Daniel Farquhar, 1851-1852; William Foster, 1853-1854;
 Jonathan Dent, 1855; Thomas Wilde, 1856-1858; John T.
 Duncan, 1859; George Hobson, 1860-1862; William J. Cooke,
 1863-1865; Samuel W. Lawton, 1866; William W. Grigg, 1867-
 1869; Thomas H. Horrell, 1870-1872; Arthur Roberts, 1873-
 1875; W. Attfield Leach, 1876-1877; Joseph W. Clucas,
 1878-1880; Levi James, 1881-1883; William Good, 1884-1886;
 Joseph Cooper, 1887-1888; Thomas M. Dickinson, 1889; John
 T. Waddy, B. A., 1890-1892; Herbert W. Pates, 1893-1895;
 J. Warwick Armstrong, 1896-1898; John Davison Brown, 1899-
 1901; Henry W. Edwards, 1902; John D. Lamb, B. A., 1903;
 Frederick W. Chudleigh, 1904; Ernest Boulton, 1905-1907;
 Ernest R. Thompson, 1908-1910; Archibald J. Marchant, 1911-
 1914; Robert F. Atkinson, 1915-1918; John B. Ely, 1919-
 1921; Raymond C. Mace, 1922-1924; Herbert H. Minchin,
 1925; Philip R. Price, 1926-1928; R. Douglas Ord, 1929.

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the Synod of Glasgow and Air Sixth Oct. 1748
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